



THE MIRROR
OF VERTUE
in Worldly Greatnes.

OR
THE LIFE OF SYR
Thomas More Knight,
sometyme Lo. Chancellour
of England.

AT PARIS.
MDC.XXVI.



TO
THE RIGHT
HONOURABLE
THE LADY
ELIZABETH
COVNTESSE OF
BAMBVRY, &c.

RIGHT Ho-
nourable,
It vvas my
good happe
not longe since, in a
Friends



The Epistle

Friends House, to lighte the
vpon a briefe History of the
the Life, Arraignment,
and Death of that *Mir-
rour* of all true Honour,
and Vertue *Syr Thomas
More*, vvhho by his Wis-
dome, Learning, & San-
tity , hath eternized his
Name, Coūtrey , & Pro-
fession , throughout the
Christian World , vwith
immortall Glory , and
Renovvne.

Finding, by perusal of
ther-

Dedicatory.

therof, the same repleni-
shed vwith incōparable
Treasures , of no lesse
Worthy, and most Chris-
tian Factes, then of Wises,
& Religious Sentences,
Apophthegmes, & Say-
ings ; I deemed it not
only an errour to permit
so great a light to ly bu-
ried, as it vvere, vwithin
the vvalls of one priuate
Family : but also iudged
it vworthy the Presse, euē
of a golden Character (if

The Epistle
it were to be had) to the
end, the vvhole World
might receaue comfort
and profit by reading the
same.

Hauing made this Re-
solution, a Difficultie
presented it selfe to my
Thoughts, vnder vvhose
Shaddovv, or Patronage
I might best shelter the
Worke: vnto vvh^{ch} strife,
Your *LADIS.HIP*,
occurring to my cogita-
tions, put an end, vwith
the

Dedicatory.

the BEAMS of your
WORTH, & HO-
NOVR, so dazeling my
yes, as I could discerne
one other more Fit, or
Worthy to imbrace, &
protect so Glorious and
Memorable Examples.

Of vvhose GOOD-
NES I am so confidēt,
that vwithout further de-
bate, I judge, this Enter-
hange of Friendshippē
may vvorthily be made
etvveene the SAINT

*The Epistle
and Y O U. Y O U (Ma-
dame)shal Patronize his
HONOR heere on
Earth; and HE, shall be-
come a Patronc, and In-
tercessour for Y O U in
Heauen.*

*By him, that am your
Ladiships profes-
sed Servant.*

T. P.

Ma
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ant.
P.

THE PREFACE of the Authour.

FOR AS MUCH, as Syr Thomas More Knight, somtymes Lord Chancellour of England, a Man of singular Verue, and of an unspotted Conscience; & (as witnesseth Erasmus) more pure, and white then snowe: of so Angelicall a Wit (sayth he) that England never had the like before, nor euer shall againe: A Man (I say) uniuersally well studiēd, not only in the Lawes of our owne Realme (a Study able to occupy the whole life of a man) but also in all other Sciēces both Humane & Divine; was in his owne dayes (much more

des

deservedly in these) esteemed worth
of perpetuall Memory: I Willia
Hooper his most unworthy Sonne-in
law (by Marriage of his eldest Da
ghter) knowing no man living
this day, able to speake more of his
Life and Conuersation, then my self
who was continually resident in his
House for the space of sixteene ye
ars and more; haue at the request
of divers worthy friends, put downe
wryting, such thinges, touching the
same, as I can at this present well ca
soremembrance (hauing through my
negligence, forgotten many other ver
y notable passages therof) to the end
that all should not utterly perish in
posterity. The which I haue heere per
formed, to my ability, in a playne and in
bumble style; leauing the same as a fit
subject to a more skillfull, and exqui
site Pen, when Tyme, and Occasion of
shall offer themselues, to dilate therof. Pr

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tongue, at S. Antonges Schoole
ne an
in London, who was very shor
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tly after, by his Fathers procure
exqui
ment, received into the houla
ccasio
of that Worthy, and Learned
therof Prelate, Cardinall Morton; where
THE

THE LIFE OF *Syr Thomas More.*

YR Thomas More was
borne in London of
worshipfull Parents.
His Father was a Stu
dent of Lincolnes Inne, and
brought him vp in the Latin
tongue, at S. Antonges Schoole
in London, who was very shor
as a f
tly after, by his Fathers procure
exqui
ment, received into the houla
ccasio
of that Worthy, and Learned
therof Prelate, Cardinall Morton; where
A though

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though he was but younge in
yeares, he would in the tyme of
Christmas, suddainly steppe in
amongst the Players, and there
ex tempore, without any study
of the Matter, or least stay, or
stammering in his speach, make
a part of his owne present wit,
amongst them: which was more
delightfull, and pleasing to the
Nobles, & Gentlemen that vsed
to be at Supper with the *Cardi-*
wall, then all the premeditated
parts of the Players.

This *Cardinall* tooke more
delight in his wit, and toward-
nes, then he did of any other
temporall Matter whatsoeuer;
& would often say of him, vn-
to diuers of his familiar friends,
who vsed dinner & supper with
him: *This Child heere, wagting at*
the

Syr Tho. More 3.
the table, whosoever shall live to see
it, will proue a meruailous Man.

And for his better furthe-
rance in learning, he placed him
at *Oxford*; where when he was
well instructed in the *Greeke & Latyn* tongues, he was then, for
the *Common Lawes* of the king-
dome, put to an *Inne of Chan-
cery*, called *New Inne*; where in
small tyme he profited so well,
that he was from thence admit-
ted into *Lincolnes Inne*, with ve-
ry small allowance; continuing
there his study, vntill he was
made Barrister.

After this, to his high Com-
mendations, he read for a good
space, a publique Lecture of *S. Au-
gustine de Cimitate Dei* in the
Church of *S. Laurence* in the Old
Iewry in *London*, wherunto re-

A 2 sorted

4. *The Life of*
forted one Doctor *Corſin*, an ex-
cellent Scholler, and a great De-
uine, and all the chiefe learned
in, and about the Citty of *Lon-
don*.

Then was he made Reader of
Furuiualls Inne, where he remay-
ned for the space of aboue thre
yeares; and then he gaue him-
ſelſe wholly to deuotio & prayer
in the Charter-house at *Lon-
don*, lyuing there Religiously
four yeares without vow; du-
ring which tyme he often reſor-
ted to the house of one *M. Colt*
(a Gentleman in *Essex*) who v-
ſed many tymes to inuite him
thither.

This *M. Colt* had three daugh-
ters, whose honest and vertuous
educations were the chiefe Mo-
tives, that induced him to place
his

Syr Tho. More.

his affection there: and albeie his mynde was most inclyned towards the second Sister, for that he thought her the fayrest, and best fauoured: yet when he considered, it would be both a great grieve, & some shame also to the eldest, to see her younger Sister preferred in Mariage before her, he out of a kind of pity, then framed his affection towards the eldest, and shortly after maried her. After this he continued his study of the Law at *Lincolnes Inne* vntill he was called to the bench, and had there read twise, which is as often, as ordinarily any Judge of the Law readeth. He dwelt all this whyle at Bucklers-bury in *London*, where he had, by his wife three daughters, & one Sonne,

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all brought vp in vertue & learning, from their very infancy: for he would alwayes exhort them, to take Vertue and Learning for their meate, and Play for their sawce.

Before he had euer beene Reader in Court, he was in the latter tyme of King *Henry* the seuenth made a Burgesse of the Parliament: In which, was by the King demaunded three fifteens for the Mariage of his eldest daughter vnto the King of Scots. At the debating wherof he alleadged such arguments & reasōs agaynst the sayd demaunde, that the Kings expectation was vtterly ouerthrowne.

Whereupon one *M. Tiler* a Gentleman of the Kinges priuy Chamber, being their present, with

with all speed carried word to the King from the Parliament-House, That a beardless boy, had disappoynted his Graces purpose. Vpon which reporte the King conceiued great displeasure agaynst *M. More*, & would not rest satisfied, vntill vpon a pretended causeleſſe quarrell, his Father was committed to the Tower, and there kept priſoner vntil he had payd an hundred pounds, for a fine.

Shortly heereupon it happe-
ned, that *M. More* comming a-
bout a ſuite to *D. Fox*, Bishop
of *Winchester*, one of the Kings
priuy Councell; the Bishop ca-
lled him a ſyde, and pretending
great fauour towards him, pro-
mised him, That if he would be
ruled by him he would not fayle

The Life of
to restore him agayne into the
Kings fauor; meaning forsooth,
as he afterwards conjectured,
to make him confesse a fault a-
gaynst the King, whereby his
Highnes might with the better
colour take occasion of displea-
sure agaynst him. As he came
from the Bishop, by chance he
met with one *M. Whitford* his
familiar friēd, then the Bishops
Chaplaine, but afterwards a
Monke of *Syon*; and amongst o-
ther talke *M. More* told him what
the Bishop had sayd vnto him,
desyring his opinion and aduise
therein. Wherupon *M. Whitford*
prayed him, for the passion of
God, in no wise to follow the Bi-
shops counsel: For my Lord my
mayster (quoth he) to serue the
Kings turne, will not sticke to

agree

Syr Tho. More.

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agree to the death of his owne Father. So *M. More* returned no more to the Bishop : and had not the King soone after dyed, he was purposed to haue left the Realme, and gone to some other parts beyond the Seas, knowing that being in the Kings displeasure, he could not liue in England, without great daunger.

After this he was made one of the Vnder sherrifffes of *London*, by which office, and his learning together, he hath been often heard to say, that he gained, without griefe of conscience, not so little as foure hundred pounds by the yeare: For that there was no matter of importance depending at that tyme in controuersy in any of the Kings Courts, concerning the lawes of the Realme,

▲ 5 where.

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wherein he was not with one
party in counsell.

For his wisdome and learning
he was held in such honour and
esteeme, that before he came
to the seruice of King *Henry the*
Eight, at the suite and instance
of our English Merchants, he
was, with the Kinges consent,
twise sent *Embassadour*, about
certayne busynesse in cōtrouerſy
betwixt them and the Merchāts
of the *Stilliard*. Whose wise and
discreete dealinges therein, to
his high Commendatiōs, com-
ming vnto the Kings eare, he
called immediatlye vnto him
Cardinall Wolsey, then **Lord**
Chancellor, and willed him by
all meanes to procure, & worke
M. More into his seruice.

Whereupon the Cardinall ac-
cording

cording to the Kinges pleasure, earnestly laboured with him, & amongst many other his persuasions, he alleadged vnto him, how deere his seruice must needs be to the King, who could not out of Honour seeme to recompence him with lesse, then he should otherwise yearlye loose therby. Yet was he loath to change his estate, and made such meanes to the King, by the Cardinall, to the contrarye, that his Maiesy at that tyme, rested well satisfied.

Shortly after, there happened a great shipp of the Popes, to arriue at Southampton, which was claymed by the King as a forfayture. But the Popes Embassadour, by suite made vnto the King, obtayned, that he

A 6 might

33 *The Life of*
he might for his Maister haue
Councell learned in the Lawes
of this Realme, and the matter
in his owne presence (being him-
selfe an excellent Civilian) to
be openly hard and discussed in
some publique place. At which
tyme there was none, for our
Lawes, found more fit to be of
Councell with the *Emassador*,
then *M. More*, who could report
vnto him in Latyn, all the
reasons and arguments on both
sides alleadged.

Whereupon Councillors on
both parties, in the presence of
the Lord Chancellour, & other
the Judges of the Star-Chamber
had audience accordingly, where
M. More declared vnto the *Em-
bassador* the whole effect of all
theiyr opinions, and besides, in
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efence of his Clyent argued so
earnedly himselfe, that thereby
not only the Forfaiture afore-
said was agayne restored vnto
his Holynesse, but also he him-
selfe amongst all the Audience,
or his vpright and commenda-
ble demeanour, was so greatly
enowned, that the King from
enceforth by no meanes, or in-
reaty would be moued to for-
sake his seruice any longer.

Now, at his first entry into
the Kings seruice, his Maiesty
made him Maister of Requests,
having the no better place voy-
e, and within one moneth af-
ter he was knighted, & made of
his priuy Couacell. And so from
tyme to tyme did the King still
duance him, to places of Ho-
our; and he continued still in
his

his fauour, and trusty seruice
for more then twenty yeares.
In which time the King vsed of-
ten, especially vpon Festiuall
dayes (after he had done his
owne Deuotions) to send for
him into his owne Trauerse, and
there in matters of Astronomy
Geometry, Diuinity, and such
like Faculties (yea and often ty-
mes of his temporall affayres) to
sit, and confer with him. Many
tymes also in the night the King
would haue him vp into his lea-
des, there to consider with him
the diuers scituations, courses,
motions, & apparitions of the
Stars, & Planets. And for that
he was euer of a merry & plea-
sant disposition, it pleased the
King and Queene very often to
send for him, attyme of dinner

and

nd supper, as also many other
tymes, to come & recreate with
hem.

But when he perceyued the
King to take so much delight in
his company, & discourse, that
he could not scarce once in a
moneth get leauet to go home to
his wife and children, nor that
he could not be absent frō court
two dayes togeather, without
sending for agayne, he disliking
this restraint of his liberty, did
thereupon begin; somewhat to
dissemble his merry nature, re-
tyring himselfe by litle and litle
from his accustomed mirth, so
that he was from thenceforth,
sent for orderly by the King, at
such tymes as was conuenient.

In this meane tymē dyed one
M. Westō Treasurer of the Exche-
quer,

quer, whose office after his decease, the King of his owne free gift, and offer, bestowed vpon *Syr Thomas More*. And in the fourteenth yeare of his Maies-
ties raygne, there was a Parla-
ment holden at Westmynster,
wherof *Syr Tho. More* was cho-
sen Speaker: who being very
vnwilling to take that office
vpon him, made an oration (not
now extant) to the Kings Ma-
iesty, for his discharge thereof.
Wherunto whē the King would
not consent, he spake vnto his
Maiesty in this forme, as fol-
loweth.

Sith Iperceyues/ most vn-
doubted Soueraygne/ that it stā-
deth not with your high Plea-
sure to reforme this my Electiō,
and cause it to be changed, but

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but
haue
aue by the mouth of the most
reuerend Father in God, your
ighnesse Chauncellour, there-
nto giuen your Royall assent,
nd of your gracious benignity
etermined, far aboue that I am
ble to beare, to strengthen me,
nd repute me fit for this office,
s chosen thereunto by your Cō-
nions; I am therfore now, and
wayes shalbe ready obediently
o conforme my selfe to the ac-
omplishment of your high Cō-
aundement, in most humble
rise. Yet with your Graces fa-
our, before I further enter
herinto, I make humble inter-
cession vnto your Highnes, for
two lowly Petitions: The one
privately concerning my self, the
ther concerning your whole
bemly of Commons in Par-
lament.

lament. For my selfe (Gracious Soueraygne) that if it shal happen me to mistake, in any thinge, on the behalfe of you Cōmōs in your highnes p̄fēc or for want of good v̄tterāce in rehearsal of things, to preuerto impayre their prudent instru ctions ; It may then like you most Royall Maiesty , with your abundant grace , in the Eye of your accustomed Pitty, to pardō my simplicity , giuing me leauē to repayre agayne vnto the Cōmon House , there to conferre new with them , and take their more substantiall aduice , what thing, and in what wise, I shal on their behalfe v̄tter & speake before your Maiesty , to the intent theyr prudent aduises and affayres be not by my simplicit

shal d folly hindred or impayred.
in any which thing , if it should hap-
you vnto me(as it is not vnlike-
refed) if your Gracious Benignity
ice is lieued not my ouersight ther-
erto , it could not but during my
stru be a perpetuall grudge and
you auines vnto my hart. And this
you my first petition vnto your
ye o yall Maiesy .

My other suite (most Excel-
leuant Prince) is , that forasmuch
there be of your Commons
ere were assembled in Parliament,
then by your high commandement ,
wha number, which after the ac-
I sha stomed manner, are appoyn-
beak ed by the common House , to
the in eat and aduise of the common
and fayres apart , amongst them-
licit ues : And albeit (most Liege
an ord) that according to your
most

most prudent aduice, by your Honorable Writs, euery where declared, there hath beene a due diligence vsed in sending vp to your Highnes Court of Parliament, the most discreet person out of euery quarter, esteeme most fit therto, whereby ther is gathered, no doubt, a very substantiall Assembly of right wise and politique Persons: Ye (most vertuous Prince) sith amongst so many, euery man is not alike witted, or so well spoken, as other; and it often hap peneth, that much folly is uttered, in a paynted speach; As likewise, many that are boystous & rude in language, do y give right good substantiall Counsell; And moreouer in matters of greate Importance, the mynd

happie

happeneth to be so busied, that oftentimes a man studieth rather what to say, then how to speake, by reason whereof the wisedest man, & best speaker in a whole Countrey, fortuneth sometymes (his mynd being fervent in the matter) to speake in such wise, as he would afterwardest wish to haue beene otherwise spoken, and yet no worse will had he, when he speake it, then he hath, when he would so gladly chaunge it: Therefore (most gracious Soueraigne) considering that in your High Court of Parliament nothing is treated of, but matter of weight & importance, and which doth chiefly, & meerly concerne this your most flourishing Realme, and your owne Royall Estate,

it

it would please your Royall Maiesy, out of your abouñant Clemency and fauour, to giue to all your Cōmons here assembled, your most gracious licence, and pardon, freely, without feare of your high displeasure, euery man to discharge his Conscience, & boldly, in euery thing incident amongst vs, to declare his aduice. And whatsoeuer any man shall happen to say, that it may like your Royall Maiesy, of your inestimable Goodnes, to take all in good part, interpreting euery mans wordes (how vnwisely soeuer they be spoken) to proceed of good zeale towardes the profit of your Realme, & dignity of your Royall Person; the prosperous Estate & preseruatio wherof (most dread

Soue-

oueraigne) is the thing which
I we your most hūble, & louing
subiects, according to the bō-
en duty of our naturall Alle-
iance, most highly desire, and
ray for.

At this Parliament *Cardinall*
Volsey foud himselfe much grie-
ved with the Burgesses thereof,
or that nothing was either
spoken, or done in the Parla-
ment house, but was immediat-
y blowne abroad in euery Ale-
house and Tauerne. It fortuned
also at this Parliament, that a ve-
ry great Subsidie was demaun-
ded, which the Cardinall fea-
ing would not passe the Lower
House, did therefore determine
for the furtherance thereof, to
be there personally present,
Against whole comming, after
long

log debate there made, whether it were better to receaue him, but with a few of his Lords, or with his whole trayne: Maisters (quoth Syr Thomas More) for as much, as my Lord Cardinall (ye wot well) lately layd to our charge, the lightnes of our tongues, for thinges vttered out of this house, therfore in my mind it shall not be amisse to receiue him with all Pompe, with his Maces, his Pillars, his Pollaxes, his Crosses, his Hat, & the great Seale too, to the intent, that if he find the like fault with vs hereafter, we may be the bolder from our selues to lay the blame vpon himselfe, and those folowers which his Grace bringeth hither with him. Whereunto the whole House agreed.

and received him accordingly.

After he was come & receaved in manner aforesayd, the whole house of Parlamēt sitting still in silence, and answearing nothing to what he demaūded, but rather contrary to his expeſation, seemed not any way to inclyne to his Request, he said vnto them: Maisters, you haue here many wise & learned men amonſt you, and fith I am ſent hither from the Kinges owne Person, for the preſeruation of your ſelues, and all the Realme, me thinkes you ſhould giue me ſome reaſonable anſwere. Whe-
at every man continuing ſilent; then began he to ſpeake to one M. Warney, who making him no anſwere neither, he ſerally asked the ſame Question.

B of

of diuers others that were accompted the wifest men of the house: To whome when none of them all would ansywere so much as a word, it being before agreed among them to ansywere only by theyr speaker: Maisters (quoth the Cardinall) vnlesse it be the custome of your howse, as of likelyhood it is, by the mouth of your speaker, whome you haue chosen for trusy and wise (as indeed he is) in such causes to vtter your mindes, without doubt heere is a meruailous obstinate silence, and thereupon he required ansywere of *M. Speaker*. Who first reverently vpon his knees excusing the silence of the Howse, abashed at the presence of so Noble a Personage, able to amaze the wifest & best

lear.

learned in a kingdome; & after
by many probable arguments
prouing that for them to make
answere, was neither expedient
nor agreeable with the ancient
Liberty of the House; in con-
clusiō for himselfe shewed, that
although they had with all their
voyces chosen and trusted him
to speake, yet except euery one
of thē could put into his owne
head all t'heir seuerall wittes, he
alone in so weighty a matter,
was far vnmeete to make his
Grace answere.

Whereupon the *Cardinall* dis-
pleased with *Syr Thomas More*
(who had not in this Parliament
satisfied his desire) suddenly a-
rose and departed. And after the
Parliament was ended, at his
House in the *Gallery* at *White*
Hall,

The Life of
Hall in Westminister, he vttered
vnto him his grieves, saying: I
would to God M. More, you had
beene at *Rome* when I first made
you Speaker of the Parliament-
Howle. Your Grace not offend-
ed, I would I had beene there
my Lord (quoth *Syr Thomas.*)
And to wynd these quarrels out
of the Cardinalls head he began
to commend that Gallery, and
said: I like this Gallery of yours
my Lord, much better then your
Gallery at Hampton-Court;
wherewith he so wisely brake
off the Cardinalls displeasant
talke, that the Cardinall at that
tyme, as it seemed, knew no
what more for the present to
say vnto him.

But yet for a Reuenge of his
displeasure, the Cardinall coun-
celled

elled the king to send Syr Thomas More Embassadour ouer into Spayne , commanding vnto him his wisdome , learning , & tnes for the voyage ; and fur- ther told the King that the diffi- ulty of the caule considered ; here is none (quoth the Cardi- all) so meete , or able to per- forme your Maiestyes seruice herin , as he. Which when the King had broken to Syr Thomas More , and that he had satisfied his Maiesty how vnsit a voyage it was for him , the nature of the countrey , and disposition of his complexion considered , that he should never be able , nor likely to do his Grace acceptable serui- ce there , knowing right well , that if his Maiesty sent him thither , he should send him to his

Graue; yet shewing himselfe nuerthelesse ready, according to his duty, although it were with the losse of his life, to fullfill her Graces pleasure in that behalfe the King well allowing of his answere said vnto him: It is no our meaning *M. More*, to do you the least hurt, but rather the best good; we will therefore for this purpose devise vpon som other, and imploy your seruice otherwise.

And indeed such entire affection did the King at that tym beare vnto him, that he made him Chancellour of the Duchy of Lancaster, vpon the death of *Syr Richard Wincfield*, who had that Office before. And the king tooke so much pleasure in his company, that oftentimes his Maiestie

Maiesty would on the suddaine
go vp to his howse at *Chelsey*, to
be merry with him; whither on
atyme comming to dynner, he
walked in *Syr Thomas Mores*
garden by thespace of an houre,
and held his arme about *Syr Tho-*
mas Mores necke.

As soone as his Maiesty was
gone, *M. William Roper*, a Gent-
leman of Grayes Inne, who had
married *Syr Thomas Mores* el-
dest daughter said vnto him: Fa-
ther, how happy a man are you,
whome the King hath thus fa-
miliarly entayned (for he ne-
uer was seene to do the like vnto
any man, except *Cardinall Wol-
sey*, with whome the King did
often walke arme in arme:) I
thanke our Lord God, Sonne
Roper (quoth he) I find his Gra-

ce my very good Lord indeed he
And I thinke he doth as singu- few
larly fauour me, as any subiect as w
within this Realme; Howbeit, f in
Sonne Roper, I may tell thee, he t
haue no great cause to be proud but l
thereof. But if my Head could him;
wyn his Maiesty a Castle in age
France for then there was war. his o
re with France) it should not conq
fayle to goe: nise, o

Amongst many other his some
vertues he was of such Mee- Of w
kenes, that if he happened to earn
enter into argument, or dispute opinio
with any learned man resorting nten
to him from Oxford, Cambridge, tress
or other places as there did di- ridg
uers, some for defyre of his ac- with
quaintace, some for the famous is M
report of his wisdome and lea- igne
ning, and some about suites for rom
the

leed the Vniuersityes) although very
few were comparable vnto him
as well witnesseth *Erasmus*:) &
in discourse, he so pressed
the that they cold not well hold
out longer disputation agaynst
him; then least he should discou-
rage the (as one that sought not
his owne Glory) he wold seeme
not conquered, & by some wise de-
cise, courteously breake off into
his some other matter, & give ouer.

Of whome for his wisdome and
learning the king had such an o-
pinion, that at such tymes as he
attended his person, in his pro-
esse either to *Oxford*, or *Cam-
bridge*, where he was receiued
with very eloquent Orations,
his Maiesy would alwayes af-
feigne *Syr Thomas More*, as one
for prompt, and ready therein, to
the

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make Answere thereunto , ex-
tempore.

His custome also was , that whēsoeuer he came to any Vni-
uersity , eyther heere or beyond
the Seas , not only to be present
at Disputations and Readinges ,
but also to dispute very learned-
ly himselfe , to his high Com-
mendations , and generall ap-
plause of all the assembly .

During the tyme of his Chaū-
cellorship for the Duchy of Lan-
caster , he was sent twice Embas-
sador , ioyned in cōmission with
Cardinall Wolsey , once vnto the
Emperour Charles into Flanders ,
the other tyme vnto the French
King at Paris .

About this tyme , it hapned
that the Water-bayly of London
who had somtimes byn Syr Tho-

mis Mores seruant, hearing certayne Merchants to speake somewhat lauishly agaynst his old Muster, was so displeased therat, that he came with all speed to *Syr Thomas More*, & told him what he had heard, & of whom. *Syr* (quoth he) if I were in such fauour and authority with my Prince, as you are, such men as these should not surely be suffered, so vncharitably & falsly to misreport & slander me. Wherefore I wish you to call the befor you & punish them. *Syr Thomas More* smyling vpon him sayd: Why, M. Water-bayly, would you haue me punish them, by whome I receyue more benefit then by all you, that are my friends? Let them a Gods Name speake as lewdly of me as they

list, and shoothe neuer so many darts at me. So long as they do not hit me, what am I the worse? But if they should once hit me, then would it not indeed a little trouble me: Howbeit I trust by Gods helpe, there shall none of them all be able to touch me. Therefore I haue more cause, to assure thee M. Water-baily to pitty, then to be angry with them. Such fruitlefull communication would he often tymes haue with his familiar Friends.

So on a tyme walking a lōg the *Thames syde at Chelsey*, with his Sonne in law *M. Roper*, and discoursing of many things, amongst other speaches he sayd thus vnto him: Now I would to our Lord God, Sonne *Roper*, that thre things were well establisched

any shed in Christendome, vpon cō-
doitio that I were heer presently
tise out into a slacke, & cast into the
me, midist of the *Thames*. What great
ttitle things be those Sir (quoth *M. Rop-*
er) that moue you so to wish?
e of Wouldest thou know Sonne Ro-
me. *er*, quoth he? May it so please
se, I you Syr, with a very good will,
y to sayd *M. Roper*. In tayth Sonne
with *Roper*, they be these: First, that
mu- where the most parte of Chri-
- tian Princes are now at mortal
ids. warres, I would they were all
lōgitan vniuersall peace. The secōd
withes, that where the Church is at
and this present, sore afflicted with
, a. Errors & Heresyes, that it were
sayd setled in a perfect vniormity
id to of Religion. The thir^t is, that
that where the Kings matter of his
ibili- marriage is now come into que-
shed
stion,

stion, I wish it were, to the glo-
ry of God, and quietnes of all
parties, brought to a good con-
clusion. By which three things
(as M. Zoper supposed) he iud-
ged, that there would be a great
disturbance, through the most
part of Christendome.

Thus did *Syr Tho. More* thro-
ugh the whole course of his life,
by his actions make it appear,
that all his trauëls and paynes,
without thought of earthly com-
modity either to himselfe or any
of his, were only for the seruice
of God, his King, and the Com-
mon Wealth, wholy bestowed
& employed. And he was often-
tymes, in his latter dayes heard
to say, That he neuer asked of
the King for himselfe, the value
of one Penny.

His

His dayly custome was , if he
were at home , betides his pri-
uate prayers with his wife, chil-
dren, and family , often to retyre
himself alone, and excercise himselfe in
greate priuate, and godly deuotions: as
also euery night before he went
to bed, he vsed to go to his chap-
hroell with his whole Family a-
foresaid, & there vpon his knees
devoutly to say , certayne Le-
nes, saynes, Psalmes & Collects with
them .

And because he was alwayes
desirous of priuate Exercise, &
that he might the better with-
draw himselfe from wordly cō-
tent, he built himselfe a lodging
a good distance from his Man-
sion house, called the *New Buil-*
dint, wherein he placed a Chap-
pell, Library, and a Gallery to
walke

walke, spending many dayes in man
the weeke in Prayer, and Study well,
together. And alwayes on the sabbath
Friday, he did vsually continuall
there fro Morning vntill Night, when
bestowing his tyme only in me-
ditation, reading, and such godly
Exercises.

And the more to stir vp & en-
courage his wife, and children, If
to the detyre of heauely things,
he would oftentymes vse these sick
speaches vnto the: It is no mai-
stery for you, my Children, to say v-
go to heauen; for euery body giveth ou-
reth you good counsell, and lieth in fea-
kewise many shew you good for
Examples. You see Vertue re-
warded, and Vice punished; so and be-
that you are carried vp to hea-
uen, euen by the chynne: But if ne-
you liue to the tyme, that no seru-

man

es in man will giue you good coun-
tudy well, nor shew you good exam-
in the sole; when you shall see Virtue
inu[n]punished, and Vice rewarded; if
gh[er] when you will stand fast & sticke
me firmly vnto God; vpon payne
god of my life, though you be but
halfe good, yet God will allow
you for wholy good.

If his wife, children, or any
ngs, of his Howshould, had bee[n]
hese sicke, or troubled at any tyme
mai[n] with any infirmity, he would
n, to say vnto thē: We may not looke
y g[et] our pleasure to go to Heauen
d li[n] featherbeds; it is not the way:
good for our Blessed Lord himselfe
e reuent thither with great payne,
d; so and by many Tribulations; and
heaward was the path-way wherein
But if he so walked: Nor may the
t no seruant, looke to be in better
man
case

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cæse, then his Maister.*

And as he would in this manner alwayes perswade them to take their paines and sicknes patiently, so would he in like sort teach them to withstand the diuell, & his temptations valiantly, saying: Whosoeuer shall maner well the diuell and his temptacions, shall find him therein muche like vnto an Ape. For as an Ape feare not well looked vnto, will be manly, and bold to do shrewd turnes, and being espied will suddenly leape backe, and aduenture no further: so the diuell finding a man idle, floathfull, and without resistance, ready to receiue his temptations, waxeth hardy, that he will not sticke to bosome him, vntill he so hath wrought him throughly.

his purpose. But on the contrary side, if he see a man with dili-
gence perseuere to preuent, and
es pa withstand his temptations, he
e so waxeth so weary, that in the end
he diuelt utterly forlaketh him. For as
liant he diuell by disposition is a spi-
manit of so high a Pride, that he can-
mpta not abide to be mocked; so is he
mud of nature so Enuious, that he
Appeareth to assault a vertuous
ill b man, least he should thereby not
d tur only catch a foule fall himselfe,
sud but also minister vnto the man,
duen more matter of merit.

ell fir Thus he euer delighted, not
l, and only to busie himself in vertuous
to re exercises, but also to exhort his
eth wife, children, and howshold to
cket embrace, and follow the same.
till he to who me for his notable ver-
gly tues, God shewed, as it seemed, a
mir-

miraculous and manifest token
of his loue, and fauour towards
him, at such tyme, as his daugh-
ter *Roper* lay dangerously sicke
of the sweating sicknes (as ma-
ny others did that yeare) and
continued in such extremity of
that disease, that by no skill of
Phisicke, or other art in such ca-
ses commonly vsed, (although
she had diuers both expert and
learned Phisitians continually
attendant about her) she could
be kept from sleeping, so that
the Phisitians themselues vtterly
despayred of her recovery, and
quite gaue her ouer. Her Father
Syr Tho. More, as one that most
intierely loued and tendred her
being in great grieve and hea-
uinesse, and seeing all humane
helps to faile, determined to

baw

haue recourse to God by prayer for remedy . Whereupon going vp after his accustomed maner , into his aforesaid *New Building* , he there in his Chappell , vpon his knees with teares , most devoutly besought Almighty God , that it would please his diuine Goodnes , vnto whome nothing was impossible , if it were his blessed will , to vouchsafe graciously to heare his humble petition . And suddenly it came into his mynd , that a Glister might be the only way to help her ; of which when he had told the Phisitians , they all instantly agreed , that if there were any hope of remedy , that was the most likelist ; and meruayled much , that themselues had not before remembred the same . Then was it instantly ministered

nistred vnto her sleeping, & af-
ter a while she awaked, and con-
trary to all their expectations
immediatly began to recouer, &
in short tyme was wholy re-
stored vnto her former health.
Whome, if it had pleased God
to haue taken away, at that
time, her Father sayd, that he
would neuer after haue meddled
with worldly busynesse.

Now whilst *Syr Thomas More*
was Chaūcellour of the Duchy
of *Lancaster*, the Sea of *Rome*
chaunced to be voyd, by the
death of Pope *Leo the X.* which
was the cause of much trouble;
for that *Cardinall Wolſy*, a man of
a very high and ambitious spi-
rit, aspiring vnto that sea & dig-
nity, was therein croſt and pre-
uented by the Emperour *Charles*

the fifth, who had commended
the Cardinall *Adrian* (some-
tyme his Schoole-maister) vnto
the Conclau of Cardinalls in
rome, at the tyme of election, &
highly praysed him for his
Worth and Vertue, that he was
thereupon chosen Pope. Who
comming from *Spayne* (where
he was then resident) to *Rome*,
entred into the Citty towardes
his Pallace barefooted with such
humility, that all the people
had him in very great Reue-
rence.

Upon this & other like occa-
sions, *Card. Wolsey* enraged with
anger, studied all the wayes he
should devise to be reuenged of
the Emperour, which as it was
the beginning of a most lamen-
table Tragedy, so some part ther-
of

of, not impertinent to my present purpose, I haue thought fit to haere to insert.

The *Cardinall*, not ignorant of King *Henries* inconstant & muteritable disposition, vsed all meane to auert his Maiesy, from his wife *Queene Katherine*, the Empereours Aunt, well knowing he would easily inclyne to that motion vpon any sleight occasion. And so meaning to make the Kings flexible Nature, the instrument to bring about his vngodly purpose, he deuised to allure his Maiesy (who was alreadie mynd, and knowledge, fallen in loue with the Lady *Anne Bullen*) to affect the French Kings Sister. Which thing, because of the wars, and hatred that was then selfe be-

pro betweene the French King; and
nt from the Emperour (whome the Car-
inal now mortally hated) he
nto very earnestly indeauoured to
m procure. And for the better fur-
ane pering this his purpose, he re-
n his uested one *Langland*, Bishop of
Em. *incolne*, and Ghostly Father to
wing. *Henry*, to put a scruple into
th the K. head; that it was not law-
occa ill for him to mary his Brothers
make wife; which thing the King (not
, the try to heare of) related first to
t his *Th. More*, & required his
ed to counsell therein, and with all
as aliewed him some places of Ser-
inalliture which seemed somewhat
en to serue his purpose. *Syr Thomas*
ullensmore perusing the said places,
sister whereupon (as one that had ne-
f theer professed Diuinity) excused
therm selfe vnto his Maiesty, and
be

C

said.

said, he was farre vnsit to meddle
with such affaires.

The King not satisfied with
this answere, pressed and vrged
him the more; which he percea-
uing said vnto his Maiesy: that
forasmuch as such a busines re-
quired good aduise and delibera-
tion, he besought his Highnes to
giue him sufficient respit to cōsi-
der aduisedly of the same. Wher-
with the King well contented,
replyed, That *Tonstall & Clark*,
Bishops of *Durham & Bath*, with
others learned of his priuy Cō-
sell should also be dealers therin.

So *Syr Thomas More* depar-
ted, and conferred those places
of Scripture with the Exposi-
tions of diuers of the ancient
Fathers, and Doctours of the
Church, and at his comming to

Court

Court & talking with the King
of the aforesaid matter, he said:
To be playne with your Grace,
neither my Lord of *Durham*, nor
my Lord of *Bath*, though I hold
them to be both learned, ver-
e-
re-
tuous, & holy Prelates, nor my
selfe, with any other of your
Counsell(being all your Maie-
ties owne seruants, & so great-
ly bound vnto you for your ma-
ted, manifold benefits dayly bestowed
upon vs) be in my iudgment fit
Counsellors for your Grace he-
rein. But if your Maiesty desyre
o vnderstand the Truth, such
Counsellors may be found, as
neither for respect of world-
commodity , nor for feare of
our Princely authority , will
any way be drawne to deceiue
you. And then he named vnto

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the King. *S. Hierome, S. Augustine*
and diuers others auncient Fa-
thers & Doctors of the Church,
both Greeke an Latin; and fur-
ther shewed his Maiesty, what
authority he had gathered forth
of them: of which although the
King (as not fitting to his pur-
pose) did not very well like, yet
were they by *Syr Thomas More*
so wisely alleaged, and so tem-
pered with discretion, that the
King at that tyme, tooke it in
good part, and had oftentimes
conference with him againe, a-
bout the same matter.

After this there were certayne
questions propounded to the
Kings Counsell whether in this
case the King needed to haue
any scruple at all; and if he had,
what was the best way to free

him

him of it? The greater part of the Counsell were of opinion, that there was good cause of scruple, and that for his Maiesties discharge therin, it was fit suite should be made vnto the Sea of Rome, where the King thought that by his liberality, he might with ease obtayne his purpose.

Thē was there procured from Rome a commission for the tryall of this Mariage, wherein Cardinall Campegius, and Cardinall Wolsey were ioyned commissioners, who for the determination therof, sate at the *Blacke-Fryers* in London, where a Libell was put in, for the anulling of the said Matrimony, affirming the Matriage betweene the King and Queen to be vnlawfull. Then againe, for proofe therof to be

lawfull, there was produced a booy, dispensation, in which, after divers disputationes thereupon holden, there appeared an imperfection; which notwithstanding, by an other instrument, or Breve, and found out vpon search, in the Treasury of Spayne, & sent ouer to the commissioners in England, was supplyed; & so should iudge Trotmet haue ben giuen by the Pope, accordingly, had not the King men vpon intelligence therof before the same Iudgment, appealed to a Generall Coucell. After whose Appellation, the Cardinalls sat no more vpon that businesse. Mou

It happened, before the said question, that M. Roper being one day in discourse with Tho. More, did with a kind of

ced to joy, congratulate with his said
er die Father, for the happy Estate of
holy the Realme that had so Catho-
lique a Prince, as no Heretique
durst shew his face, so vertuous
Brew and learned a Clergy, so graue
in thond sound a Nobility, and so lo-
ouing and obedient Subiects, all
in one fayth agreeing togeather.
Iudge Troth, it is so indeed, Sonne Ro-
Popper(quoth he :) and then com-
King mended all degrees and estates
efor of the same, far beyond M. Roper.
ed to And yet Sonne Roper(quoth he)
whof I pray God, that some of vs (as
s sat high as we seeme to sit vpon the
se. Mountaynes, treading Hereti-
ques vnder our feete like Ants)
ght inue not to see the day, when we
being gladly would wish to be in lea-
Syngue and composition with thos
whome you call Heretiques, &c
joy,

to let them haue their Churche
quietly to themselues, vpon co-
dition, that they would be con-
tent to let vs haue ours, quietly
to our selues.

Then *M. Roper* produced
many reasons to the contrary
& saw no cause why any should
say so. Well, well, Sonne *Roper*
(quoth he) I pray God some
vs liue not till that day, and sa-
no more. To whome *M. Roper*
replied, By my troth Syr, this
desperately spoken, seeming
be halfe angry with *Syr Thomas More*: who perceiuing the same
said merily vnto him: Well, well, *Sonne Roper*, It shall not be then
since you will not haue it so
Thus was he of so excellent a life; in
temper, that those who liued, & *Syr Thomas More*
were continually couersant with
him

recherched him in his house, for the space
of twenty yeares and vpwardes,
e con could neuer perceiue him to be
quietly moued, or to make the
last shew of anger.

But to returne agayne where
I left. After the supplying of the
spensation, sent vnto the com-
missioners into England, as is
before rehearsed, the King ta-
king the busynesse to himselfe, as
not then mynding to proceed
further in the matter, assi-
gned the Bishop of Durham and
Syr Thomas More to go Embassa-
tours to Cambray (a place nei-
ther Imperiall, nor French) to
thence a Peace betweene the Em-
perour, the French King, & him-
selfe; in the concluding wherof
Syr Tho. More so worthily man-
aged the busynesse, that he pro-
him

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cured therby much more benefit for the Kingdome, then was part at that tyme by the King and his Cōsell thought possible could be cōpassed. For whose good service in that Embassy, the King (when he after made him Lord Chauncellour) caused the Duke of Norfolke, to declare openly to the people, how much all England was bounden vnto him, as you shall see heer after more at large.

Now vpon the cōming home of the Bishop of Durham, and Sir Thomas More from Cambray aforayd, the King began to renew agayne his old suite, and was very earnest in persuading Sir Thomas More to agree vnto the matter of his marriage, vnde that all the wayes, and meanees he could

ene could devise to draw him to his
was part, and as it was thought did
d his the rather for that end soone af-
ould after create him Lord Chauncel-
d serour of England. And the King
King said further vnto him, that al-
Lord though at his going to *Cambray*,
Duke he was in vtter despaire to ob-
ly to taine dispensation thereof; yet
Eng now he had conceiued some
him good hope to cōpasse the same;
oreal leaging, that albeit his Mar-
riage, as being agaynst the pos-
home Law of the Church, & the
d Sy written Law of God, was hol-
aforsen by the dispensation; yet is
enewhere another thing found out
was of late (quoth the King) whereby
g Sy his Marriage appeareth so dire-
to thly agaynst the law of Nature,
vse that it can in no wise, by the
es h Church be dispensable, as Do-
cotle

Bis
tor Stokesley (whome he had the S
then preferred to the Bishop-
ricke of London) can well in-
struct you, with whome, vpon
this point, I would haue you to
confer.

So they conferred togeather
But for all this Conference
Syr Thomas More could not be
induced to change his opinion
therein: Yet notwithstanding
did the Bishop in his Report
him to the King, affirme falsely
that he found *Syr Thomas More*
in the Kings cause, very for-
ward, as being desirous to find
some good matter, wherewith
he might serue the Kings con-
tentment, in that case.

Now, this Bishop Stokesley ha-
ving a little before, byn by *Car-
dinall Wolsey* openly rebuked in
the

had the Sarre-chamber, & awarded
hop. to the Fleet, he not well broo-
l in. this contumelious vsage;
upon and knowing that forasmuch
u to s the Cardinall, for his backe-
wardnes in pursuing the Kings
ther diuorse, was falling out of his
ence, lighnes fauour; and that he had
ot below espied a fit opportunity to
nion euenge his quarell agaynst the
ding Cardinall, and to incense the
rt of King further agaynst him; at
lly, last preuayled so far, that the
More Cardinall was soone after dis-
placed from his office of high
Chancellorship, and the same
with was conferred vpon Syr Thomas
con- More, hoping therby so to win
him to his syde, that he would
ha. yield his consent for the matter
Car. of diuorse.

Then was Syr Thomas More
be-

betweene the Dukes of Suffolke and Norfolke, brought through Westminster Hall, to his place in the Chancery, and the Duke of his Norfolke in the audience of all the people there assembled, shewrely wed, that he was from the Kinge most himselfe straitly charged by herre the speciall commission, to publicke there openly in the presence of all them all, how much all Englande was beholding to Syr Thomas More, for his good seruice; and how worthily he deserued the highest roome in the Kingdome; and further how deere his Majestie loued & trusted him; wherefore in (quoth the Duke) he hath laid great cause to rejoyce, & prayre to Almighty God.

Whereunto Syr Thomas More, amongst diuers other wise and learned

Suffolke warden speches) made answere
roughe and replyed, that althoough he
ace had good cause to take comfort
uke of his Highnes singular fauour
of al towards him, to whome there-
H, therfore he acknowledg'd himselfe
King most deeply bounden; yet ne-
erthelesse he must for his owne
art needes confess, that in all
hole things, by the Duk's Grace
here alleaged, he had done no-
thing, but what was his duty.
; and furthermore said, That he
was very vnsit for that dignity,
wherein (considering how wise
and worthy a Prelate, had lately
before taken so great a fall) he
had said he had no great cause to re-
tayse. And as they had before in
the Kings behalfe, charged him
to minister Justice vprightly &
and indifferently to the people, with-
out

out corruption or affection: so iuer
did he likewise charge them a much
gayne, that if they saw him, a poor
any time to digresse, in the least
thing, touching any part of his
duty, in that honourable Offi-
ce, euен as they would discharg
their owne duty and fidelity to
God and the King, they would
not fayle to declare the same to
his Maiesy; who otherwise,
might haue iust cause to lay the
fault wholy vpon them, and to
their charge.

Now, when he was Lord
Chauncellour, on a tyme being
at leasure (as seldome he was)
a Sonne in law of his, who had
marryed one of his daughters,
spake merrily vnto him saying:
When Cardinall *Wolsey* was
Lord Chancellour, not onely

... liuers of his priuy Chāber, but
much also as were but his very
door-keepers got much proffit:
and now sith I haue maryed one
of your daughters, and giue my
ayly attendance vpon you., I
thinke I might of reason looke
or somthing; but you spoyle all
market, Syr, because you be so
ady your selfe to heare cuery
man, as well poore as rich; & be-
des you keepe no doores shut
gaynst them, which is to me no
mall hinderance and discoura-
ment; whereas otherwise some
or friend shippe, some for kyn-
ted, but most for profit, would
be glad to haue my furtherance
to bring them to your presence.
And now as the case stands, if
I should take any thing of them,
I know I should do them much
wrong

wrong, for that they may do
much for themselues, as I am
able to do for the. Which thin
though it be in you very com
mendable, yet to me your Sonne
I find it nothing profitable.

You say well, Sonne (quo
Syr Thomas More) I do not mi
like that you are so scrupulou
of conscience, for there be ma
ny other wayes, wherin I ma
both do you good, and please
your friend also; for sometyme
may I by my word stand your
friend instead, and sometime
I may by my letters help him
or if he haue a cause dependin
before me, at your request I ma
heare him before another; or
his cause be not altogether
the best, yet may I moue the pa
ties to fall to some reasonab
way

y do end, or compound by arbitrement: Howbeit this one thing thin Sonne, I assure thee, on my com Fayth, that if the parties will at Sonne my hands call for iustice, then if e. it were my Father that stood on quo the one side, and the Diuell on ot m the other side, his cause being pulou good, the Diuell surely shoule be m haue right.

I ma So offered he to his Sonne as easur much fauour as he thought he etyme could in reason require. And d you that he would for no respect di etime gresse neuer so litle frō iustice, p him did plainly appeare by another endin of his Sonns in law, one M. Giles I ma Heron, who had a sorry suite de- ; on pending before him in the Chā- her ctery, yet presuming much vpon ne pa his Fathers fauour, would in no onab wayes be perswaded by him to en come

come to an indifferent compo-
sitiō with his aduersary; where-
upon in triall of the matter, Syr
Thomas More pronounced sen-
tence agaynst him.

He vſed euery afternoone to
ſit in his open Hall, to the end,
that whosoeuer had any ſuit vnto
him, they might the more
boulder come to his presence,
and there to open theyr Com-
playnts before him. Also his
manner was, to read euery Bill
himſelfe, before he would grant
any *Sub p̄ena*, and hauing read
it, he would either ſet his hand
vnto it, or else cancell it.

Whensoeuer he paſſed throgh
Westminster Hall, to his place
in Chancery, by the Court of
Kings Béch, if his Father (one of
the Judges therof) had bin there

ſet

set before he came, he would go into the same Court, & there most reverently vpon his knees before the whole Assembly, aske his Father blessing. As likewise, if his Father and he chanced to meet at the Lecture in *Lincolnes Inne* (as oftentimes they did) yet, notwithstanding his high place & Office, would he offer in Argument, the preheminence vnto his Father; nor would himselfe accept thereof, vntill his Father had refused it.

And for further declaration of his naturall affection, & loue towarde his Father, when he lay sicke vpon his death bed, he did not only (according to his duty) oftentimes come and visit him, with all manner of comfort, but also at his departure out

out of the world, he tooke him about the Necke, kissed, & imbraced him, commanding his soule into mercyfull hands of Almighty God, and so departed.

Whilst he was Lord Chancellour, he graunted but few Iniunctions; yet were they by some of the Judges of the Law misliked, which *M. Roper* vnderstanding, declared the same vnto *Syr Thomas More*, who answered, that they should haue little cause to find fault with him therfore. Whereupon he caused one *M. Crooke*, chiefe of the six Clarkes to make a Docket conteyning the whole number and causes of all such Iniunctions, as either in his tyme had alreadie passed, or at the present depended in any of the Kings Courts.

Courts at Westminster before him; which done, he one day invited all the Judges to dinner with him in the Counsell Chamber at Westminster, and after dynner, when he had broken with them, what cōplaynts he had heard of his Injunctions, & moreouer had shewed them the number and causes of euery one in order, truly & playnely, they were all inforced to confess, that themselues in like cases could haue done no otherwise. Then made he this offer vnto them, That if the Judges of euery Court, vnto whome the reformation of the rigour of the Law, by reason of their Office most especially appertayned, would vpon reasonable considerations in their owne discre-

tions (as he thought they were bound to do in conscience) mitigate, and reforme the rigor of the law themselues, there should from thenceforth be no more Injunctions graunted out by him. Whereunto when they refused to condescend, then said he vnto them : For asmuch as your selues (my Lordes) force me to that necessity, of granting out Injunctions, for relief of the peoples iniuries, you cannot hereafter any more iustly blame me.

After that, he spake priuatly to M. Roper saying: I perciue why they liked not so to do, for they see that they may by the verdict of the Iury, cast all quarrels vpon thosse whome they account their chiefe defence; and there-

fore

fore am I compelled, to abide
the aduenture of all such Re-
ports.

Now in the tyme of his Chan-
cellourshippe, althoough he had
but little leasure, to busy himselfe
in the study of holy Scriptures
and Controuersies in Religion,
with other such like Exercises,
being in a manner continually
employed about the affaires of
the King and Kingdome; yet
did he take many watchfull pa-
nes in setting forth diuers profi-
table workes, in the defence of
Christian Religion, agaynst He-
resies, that then were blowne
abroad. In so much that the Bi-
shops, to whose Pastorall care
that Reformation chiefly belo-
ged, seeing themselues, by his
trauell (wherein by their owne

D con-

The Life of
confession, they were not any
way able to compare with him) in
great part discharged of their
duties in that behalfe; & consider-
ing, that for all the Princes
fauor, & his great Office he was
no rich man, nor had in yearly
reuenewes aduaced himselfe as
his worthynes deserued, there-
fore at a Conuocation, holden
amongst themselues, and others
of the Clergy, they agreed to
recompence him with a summe
of fiftie thousand pounds, for his
paynes taken in their behalfe.

To the payment wherof eue-
ry Bishop, Abbot, and others of
the Clergy, according to the ra-
tes of their abilityes, became li-
berall Contributaries; hoping
that this their liberality would
giue him good content. Where-
upon

þpō Bishop Tonstall of Darhā, Bi-
þhop Clarke of Bath, & D. Voysey,
Biþhop of Exeter repayred vnto
Syr Tho. More, declaring how
thankefullly, to their discharge
in Gods cause, they reckoned
themselues vnto him; and albeit
they could, not according to his
deserts, so worthily requite his
abours, & therefore must refer
the same to Gods gracious good-
nesse: yet for a small gratuity, in
respect of his Estate so vnequall
to his Worth, in the Name of
their whole Conuocation, they
presented vnto him the forsaid
summe, desiring him to accepte
of it in good part. But Syr Tho-
mas More refusing this their ten-
der, said vnto them: That, as it
was no small comfort vnto him
that so wise and learned men had
pon

cepted of his weake labours, for
which he never intended to re-
ceiue any other reward, but at
the hands of God, to whome a-
lone all the thankes therof were
chiefly to be ascribed: So gaue he
most humble thankes vnto all
their Honours, for their so
friendly and honourable consi-
deration, and earnestly intrea-
ted them to returne euery man
his money agayne.

Wherfore when after much
pressing him to accept therof, &
cold not preuaile, they besought
him, that they might bestow it
ypon his Wife, and Children.
Not so my Lords (quoth he,) I
had rather see it cast into the
Thames, then either I, or any of
myne should haue the value of
one penny therof. For, my Lor-

des, though your offer indeed be
very fayre and friendly, yet set
I so much by my pleasure, & so
little by my profit, that I would
not, in good fayth, for so much,
and much more, to haue lost so
many a good nights sleepe, as
I spent vpon the same. And yet
I would wish, for all that, vpon
conditiō that Heresies were sup-
pressed, that all my Bookes were
burned, & my labour lost. Thus
departed they from him, and
were driuen to returne euery
man his owne money agayne.

This Lord Chancellour, al-
though he was well knowne,
both to God and the world to be
a man of most eminent Ver-
tue, though not so considered of
every man; yet for the auoyding
of singularity would he appeare

to the ey of the world no other
wise then other men, as well in
his apparell, as behauour. And
albeit he appeared outwardly
Honourable, like to one of his
Dignity & Calling, yet inwardly
did he esteme all such things
for meere vanity: for next to his
naked body he wore almost con-
tinually a shirt of hayre; the w
a young Gentlewoman, named
M. More, by chance on day
pyng as he sat in his doublē &
hose at dynner in the somer-ty-
me, and seemed to smile therat,
his daughter Roper perceiving
the same (being not ignorant
of this his austerity) gaue him
priuate notice thereof, and he
did presently amend the fault,
seeming withall sorry, that she
had seent it. He also wore ano-

the

ther playne course shirt without ruffe or collar, vpon his shirt of hayre; And many tymes he likewise punished his body with whips, made of knotted cordes; the which thing was only knowne to his daughter Roper, who for her secrefy, aboue all the rest he especially trusted, for that as need required she did alwayes wash & mend his shirt of hayre, which he would not discouer vnto any other whatsoeuer.

Now, in this meane space, whilst he was Lord Châcellour of *England*, the King did one day greatly moue him, & desire him, well to weigh and consider of his great matter, concerning his diuorce. *Syr Thomas More* falling vpon his knees, most

D 4 humbly

The Life of
humbly besought his Maiesty to
stand still his gratiouſ Souerai-
gne, as euer ſince his entry in-
to his Royall Seruice, he had
found him; and ſaid, that there
was nothing in the world more
grieuous to his hart, then that
he was not able with the losſe of
one of his lymbes, to find any
thing for that matter, wherby
he might with ſafe conſcience
ſerue his Maiesties turne. And
that he had alwayes borne in
mynd the moſt Godly wordes,
that his Highneſſe ſpake vnto
him, at his firſt coming into
his Royall ſeruice (the moſt ver-
tuouſ Leſſon, that euer Prince
taught a Subiect) to wit, that he
ſhould firſt looke vnto God,
& after God, vnto his King: as
in good fayth (ſaid he) I haue
moſt

most sincerely done, or els might
your Grace accompt me a most
unworthy seruant.

To this the King replyed ;
that if he could not therein with-
his conscience serue him, he was
well content to accept of his
seruice otherwise, and vse the
aduise of some others of his pri-
uily Counsell, whose consci-
ences would agree well inough
therewith, nor would he neuer-
thelesse discotinue his gracious
fauour towards him, nor trou-
ble his conscience any further
with that matter, for the tyme
forward.

But *Syr Thomas More* per-
ceiued by little and little, that
the King fully determined to
proceede in his Marriage with
Queene *Anne*, when he, with

D : the

The Life of
the Bishoppes and Nobles of the
Higher House of Parliament,
were for the furtherance of that
matter, comanded by the King
to go vnto the Commons of
the lower House, & shew vnto
them, what the Vniuersities al-
well of other parts beyond the
seas, as of Oxford, and Cambridge
had done in that behalfe, testi-
fying the same with their seales
and subscriptions. All which
things (at the Kinges request,
not shewing of what mynd he
was therein himselfe) he opened
to the Lower House of Parla-
ment.

Neuerthelesse doubting great-
ly, lest further inconueniences
might follow, into which (con-
trary to his conscience) by rea-
son of his Office, he was likely

to befall, he made humble suite
to the Duke of *Norforke* (his sin-
gular deare friend) to be a me-
nes vnto the King, that he
might, with his Graces fauour,
be discharged from his Office of
Chancellourship, in which for
certayne infirmityes of his bo-
dy, he pretended himselfe not a-
ble any longer to serue.

This good Duke of *Norfolke*
hich comming on a tyme to *Chelsey*
uest, to dyne with *Syr Thomas More*,
d he found him in the Church, sin-
ened ging in the Quier, with a Sur-
arla. plisse on his backe: to whome
(after Maile was done) as they
reat- went towardes his house, to-
ences gether arme in arme, the Duke
con- said: Gods body, Gods body, my
rea- Lord Chancellour, what turned
likey Parish Clarke? You dishonor the

King and his Office very much.
Nay (quoth *Syr Thomas More*)
smyling vpon the Duke) your
Grace may not thinke, that the
King your Maister and myne
wilbe offended with me for ser-
uing God his Maister, or therby
accompn his Seruice any way
dishonoured.

Now, when the Duke (at the
speciall intreay and importu-
nate suite of *Syr Thomas More*)
had obtayned of the King, that
he should be discharged of his
Chancellorship, at a conuenient
tyme appointed by the King, he
repayred vnto the Court, to
yield vp the great Seale, which
his Maiesty receaued of him
with prayse, and thankes for his
good seruice done to his person
and the Realme in that Office.

And

And he further sayd vnto him
in a gracious manner, that if in
any suite he should heerafter
haue vnto him, that either con-
cerned his Honour (for that
word it pleased the King to vse
vnto him,) or appertayned to
his profit, he should euer find his
Highnes, a very good, and gra-
cious Lord.

After he had thus resigned
the Office, and Dignity of the
Chancellorship, and placed all
his Gentlemen & Yomen with
Bishops and Noble men, and his
eight Watermen with the Lord
Audley (who succeeded him in his
Office) to whome also he gaue
his great Barge; he then called al
his children vnto him, & asked
their aduises how he might now
in the decay of his ability, which
by

by the surrender of his Office
was so impayred, that he could
not, as he was wont, maintayne
them to liue al togeather, accor-
ding to his desyre; wherat when
he saw them all silent, & vnwil-
ling in that case to shew their
opinions vnto him: Why then
will I (quoth he) shew vnto you
my poore mynd.

I haue beene brought vp,
(said he) at *Oxford*, at an Iune
of *Chancery*, at *Lincolnes Inne*,
and also in the Kings Courtes,
and so forth, from the lowest
degree to the highest; and yet I
haue in yearly Reuenewes, left
me at this present, little aboue a
hundred poundes by the yeare.
So that now, we must hereafter
if we will liue together, be con-
tent to become Contributours

to

Office to ech other; but by my coun-
ould sell it shall not be best for vs, to
ayne fall to the lowest fare first. We
cor- will not therefore descend to
when Oxford fare, nor the fare of New
wil- Inne; but we will begin with
their Lincolnes Inne dyet, where ma-
then ny right Worshipfull of good
you yeares do liue full well; which if
we find not our selues the first
yeare able to mayntayne, then
will we the next yeare go one
steppe downe to New-Inne fare,
wherewith, many an honest
man is well contented. Then,
if that exceed our abilityes, will
we the next yeare after descend
to Oxford fare, where many gra-
ue, learned, & ancient Doctours
be continually resident; which
if our powers be not able to
mayntayne neyther, then may
we

we yet with bagges and wallets
go a begging togeather, hoping
that for pitty some good people
will giue vs their Charity , at
their doore, to sing *Salve Regi-
na* , and so still may we keepe
company togeather , and be as
merry as Beggars .

And whereas you haue heard
before, that he was by the King,
taken from a very good liuing,
and aduanced to his Maesties
seruice, wherein he spent with
paynfull cares and trauels, as-
well beyond the Seas, as within
the Kingdome, in a manner the
whole substance of his life : yet
with all the gayne that he got
thereby (being neuer wastfull
spender) he was scarce able, af-
ter the Resignation of his office
of Chancellorship, for the main-
tay-

aynance of himselfe , and such
s necessarily belonged vnto
im , sufficiently to find meate
rinke,apparell, and other such
ecessaryes ; all the land which
e euer purchased (which he
id also , before he was Lord
Chancellour) not amounting
o aboue the value of Twenty
arkes a yeare. And after his
ebts payd , he had not (his
hayne only excepted) in gold
nd siluer, left him the worth of
ne hundred pounds.

In the tyme of his Chancel-
orship, vpon the Sundayes and
holy daies, when Masse, or Eué-
ngre were ended , one of his
gentlemen did vsually go to his
ladys Pew in the Church , &
y vnto her: Madame, my Lord
gone. The next Sunday after
the

The Life of
the surrendēr of his Office, & the
departurē of his Gentlemen,
he went vnto his Ladys pew
himselfe, and with his Cap in
hand, he made her low Cour-
tesy, saying vnto her; Madame,
My Lord is gone.

In the tyme, before his trou-
bles, he would talke with his
Wife and Children of the ioyes
of heauen, & the paynes of hell
& of the liues of the Holy Mar-
tyrs, of their grieuous Martyr-
domes, of their meruailous Pa-
tience, and of their sufferings & des-
deates, & that they died most him-
willingly rather then they would
offēd God: also what a happy &
blessed thing it was for the loue
of God to suffer losse of goods
imprisonment, losse of life, and
landes. Moreouer he would fa-

e, & ther say vnto them, That vpon
men, his Fayth, if he could but per-
pew ceiue, that his wife & Children
ap in would encourage him to dye in
Cour a good cause, it would be such a
lame, comfort vnto him, that for very
joy therof he would runne mer-
trou sily to his death. By this dis-
h his course, and other such like, he
ioyes gaue them feeling what trou-
of hell bles might afterwardes chance
Mar to happen vnto him, wherby he
artyr had so farre encouraged them
is Pa before the tyme, that afterwar-
ngs & des when they happened vnto
mote him indeed, they seemed a great
would deale the lesse.

Now after the Resignation of
his Office, there came vnto him
to Chelsey, *M. Thomas Cromwell*
(then in the Kings his fauour)
with a message from his Maie-
sty,

sty, about which when they had
fully cōferred togeather priuat
ly ; *M. Cromwell* (quoth *Syr Tho
mas More*) you are now newly
entred into the seruice of a most
Royall, Wise, & liberall Prince
and if you follow my poore ad
vise, you shall in your Counsell
giuing, euer tell him what he
ought to do, but neuer what he
is able to do. So shall you shew
your selfe a true and faythfull
seruant, & a right worthy Cou
sellour : for if a Lyon knew hi
owne strength, it were hard for
any man to rule him.

Within a short tyme after
his , there was a Commission
graunted forth, and directed to
M. Cranmer (then Archbishop of
Canterbury) to determyne the
matter of the Mariage between

y had the King, & Queene Katharine,
riuat at S. Albans. Where at last , it
r Tho. was fully determined, and con-
newly cluded, according to the Kings
mō desire: and then began he to co-
rince playne, that since he could haue
e ad no Iustice at the Popes handes,
nsell he would therfore from thence-
at he forth separate himselfe from the
nath Sea of *Rome*, and thereupon he
shew presently maried the Lady *Anne*
thful *Bullen*.

Which, when Syr Tho. More
understood, he sayd to *M. Roper*; God graunt, God graunt,
Sonne Roper, that these matters
within a while, be not confir-
med by Oath.

About this tyme , Queene
Anne was to passe through
London frō the Tower to West-
minster, to her Coronation , &
some

some few dayes before, Syr Thomas More receiued a letter frō and the Bishops of Durham, Bath, & or no Winchester requesting him, both now to keep them company from thōugh the Tower to Westminster to the sept of said Coronation, and withall to ore accept of Twenty Poundes, whic̄h by the Bearer thereof fac̄t they had sent vnto him to buy now him a gowne; which he thankfullie receiued, but yet went n̄t, staying still at home vntill do the Coronation was past. At his next meeting with the said Bishops, he spake merrily vnto them, saying; My Lordes, by the letter which you sent lately vnto me, you required of me two things, one wherof since I was well contented to graunt, there fore I thought I might be the boul-

Thould to deny you the other: but frōnd also, because I tooke you
th, & or no Beggars, and my selfe I
both now to be no rich man, I
from thought I might the rather ac-
to the ept of your liberality with the
all to more honesty. But indeed your
des, other Request put me in mynd
ereof a certayne Emperour (I haue
buy now forgotten his name) that
ank made a law, that whosoeuer cō-
went committed a certayne office (which
till do not now neyther remem-
At his set,) should suffer death, by be-
d Bieng deuoured of wild beastes, ex-
vnto except it were a Virgin that of-
y the ended against the same, such
y vncerence did he beare vnto Vir-
two inity. Now, it so fell out, that
I was the first who committed the of-
herecence, was indeed a Virgin,
e ther of the Emperour hearing,
boul-
was

56. *The Life of*
was much perplexed because for to pro-
the example of others, he would be
fayne haue had that Law put in wil-
execution. Whereupon when pre-
his Counsell had late, and long and
debated the case, suddenly there bliste
arose vp one amongst the rest in
a good playne fellow, and said they
Why make you so much ado you
about this busynesse, my Lord defl-
des? The matter seemes to me fayl-
but small, and easy to be deci- you
ded: For let her first be deflow- not
red, and then afterwardes she may
may be deuoured.

And so my Honourable good roun-
Lords, though your Lordship defl-
haue in the matter of mariage. A
hitherto kept your selues purifed
Virgins; yet take yee good heed most
you keepe your Virginity still. For
For there be some, who first by year-
procu-

ise for procuring your Lordshipps to
would be present at the Coronation,
puting will next be eggynge you on, to
when preach for the letting of it forth,
d long and finally compell you to pub-
ther blish Bookes vnto all the world
e rest in defence therof. These are
said they that be desirous to defloure
h ad you, and then when they haue
Lord defloured you, they will not
o me fayle, soone after to deuoure
decide you. Now my Lordes, it lyeth
flow: not in my power, but that they
es shal may deuoure me; but God, be-
ing still my good Lord, I will so
good prouide, that they shall neuer
ship defloure me.

And had he not byn one in-
pured, who in all his actions, and
I heede most great affaers as well for the
still living as the realme during many
rst by years, was euuer free frō all cor-
procure

E **ruption,**

The Life of
ruption, by doing wrong, or taking bribes; it would without doubt in this so troublesome a tyme, of the Kings displeasure agaynst him, haue beene deeply layd to his charge, therby to haue found any the least hole in his coate. But he alwayes kept himselfe so cleare, euen of suspition of any such thing, that no man was once able therewith to blemish him; although the same was shrewdly many times attempted, specially in the case of one *Parnell*, against whome *Syr Thomas More* whilst he was Lord Chancellour, in the suite of one *Vaugham* (*Parnells adueryary*) had passed a sentence or decree, by way of Iustice.

Whereupon *Parnell* made a most grieuous complaýnt vnto *Syr*

the King, that *Syr Thomas More* had, for passing of the forsaide decree, taken from the said *Kaugham* vnable for the Gowte to trauell abroad himselfe by the handes of his wife, a fayre great gilded cup for a bribe. Vpon this accusation *Syr Thomas More* was by the Kings appointment, called before the whole body of the Counsell, where this matter was heynously laid to his charge. He forthwith confessed, that forasmuch as that cup was long after the passing of a foresaid decree, brought vnto him for a new yeares gift, he at the Gentlewomanes importune pressing it vpon him, of courtesy refused not to receiue it.

Then the Earle of *Wiltshire*,
Syr *Thomas Bullen*, Father to

Queene Anne, a very great enemy to Syr Thomas More, and chiefe complaynier of this busines agaynst him to the King, with much reioycing said vnto the Lords there present: Lo, did I not tell you, my Lordes, that you shold find this matter true?

Whereupon when Syr Thomas More had stood silent a while, smyling vpon the Lord of Wiltshire, he at length earnestly desired their Lordships, that as they had courteously heard him tell the one part of his Tale, so they would be pleased to vouchsafe him the indifferent hearing of the other.

Then he further declared vnto their Honours, That albeit indeed, he had with much intreaty receyued the cup, yet immediat-

mediatly thereupon he caused his Butler to fill it with wyne, and of that cup he dranke vnto her, and she pledged him. Then as freely as her husband had giuen it vnto him, euen so, freely gaue he the same backe agayne to her, to giue vnto her husband for his New-yeares gift, which at his request (though much a-gainst her will) she receyued agayne; as herself and diuers o-thers there present, were depo-sed before them. So was this great Mountayne, was turned presently into Molehill.

So likewise at another time, vpon a New yeares day, there came vnto *Syr Thomas More* one *Mrs Croker* a rich widdow, for whome with no small paynes, he had passed a Decree in the

*The Life of
Chauncery, agaynst the Lord
Arundell, to present him with
a payre of gloues, and fourty
pouds in Angells within them
for a New yeares gift. Of whom
he thankefully receiuing the
Gloues, but refusing the money
said vnto her: Mistresse, since
were agaynst good manners to
refuse a Gentlewomans New-
yeares gift, I am content to take
your Gloues, but for your Mo-
ney I vtterly refuse it; & much
against her mynd, he restored
her the Gold backe agayne.*

Another tyme also one Mr.
Gresham hauing a cause depen-
ding before him in the Chaun-
cery, sent him for a New years
gift a fayre Gilded cup: The fa-
fashion whereof he very well li-
king, caused one of his owne

cups

cups (though not to his mynd of so good a fashon, yet much better in value) to be brought forth of his Chamber, which he willed the Messenger in recompence to redeliuer vnto his Mistresse, for with other condition he would in no wise receive it.

Now when the King plainly saw, that he could not by any meanes wyn *Syr Thomas More* to his syde, he went about by terror, and threatnes to inforce him thereunto ; the beginning wherof, was occasioned, in this manner. There was a certayne Nunne dwelling in *Canterbury*, commonly called *The holy Mayd of Kent*, who for the exterior shew of her Vertue, and Holiness, grew into great esteeme amongst the common People

first, and then amongst others; and for that cause many Religious persons, many Doctors of Divinity, and divers others of very great accompt of the Layty vled to resort vnto her. This holy woman affirmed, to have had a Reuelation from heauen, to giue the King warning of his wicked life, and of the abuse of the Sword and Authority committed vnto him by God; and vnderstanding, the Bishop of Rochester, Doctor Fisher, to be a man of notable vertuous life & great learning, she repayred to Rochester, and there disclosed to him her sayd Reuelation, desiring his aduice and counsell therein; which the Bishop well perciuing might stand with the lawes of God, and holy Church, adui-

hers, aduised her (as she before inten-
Reli- sed, and had warning to do) to
rs of go vnto the King her selfe, and
Lay. declare vnto him, -all the cir-
This umstances therof. Whereupon
hane he went, and told vnto his Ma-
uen, city her said Reuelation, and so
of his returned home to *Canterbury*.
le of

Within a short tyme after, this
om- forlaid Holy Nunne, made a
and attorney to the Monastery of *Sion*
p of situated vpō the *Thames*, a little
to be aboue *London*, & by meanes of
life one *M. Reynolds*, a Father of the
yred same house, visited the Religious
osed therof. At which tyme it hap-
, de- pened *Syr Thomas More* to be at
nsell ion visiting some of his aquain-
well tance there, & talking with the
the Nunne about some of her Re-
lui- elations, especially that which
did concerne the Kings Supre-

macy and Marriage: which (he said) he might freely and safely do, without any daunger of the law, by reason the same was then neither established by Statute, nor confirmed by Oath (as he himselfe had lōg before prognosticated, neuerthelesse in all the discourse, and passages of speach which he had with the said Nunne (as it afterward appeared) he had carried himselfe so discreetly, that he rather deserued cōmendatiōs, thē blame.

At the Parliament following, there was a bill put vp for the attaynting of the forsaid Nunne of *Canterbury*, & of some other Monasticall persons, of High Treason: as also Bishop *Fisher* of *Rochester*, *Syr Thomas More*, and divers others, of Misprision of

Trea-

Treason. With which the King verily thought *Syr Thomas More* would be so terrified, that it would inforce him to relent, & cōdescend to his purpose; wherin as it seemed, his Grace was much mistaken.

To this Bill, *Syr Thomas More* was suiter to be receiued personally to make answere for himselfe in his owne defence. But the King not liking that, assignd the Bishop of *Canterbury*, the Lord *Chācellour*, the Duke of *Norfolke*, and *M. Cromwell* at a day, and place appoynited, to call *Syr Thomas More* before them. At which tyme *M. Roper* thinking his Father had now fit opportunity, aduised him to labouir these Lordes for the help of his discharge, forth of the

Parliament Bill, who answered him
M.Roper, that he would

At his comming before the ~~the r~~
Lordes, according to theyr ap- ~~no~~
poyntment, they ~~intertayned~~ ~~men~~
him very friendly, and willed ~~ties~~
him to sit downe with them, ~~con~~
which in no wise he would. The ~~T~~
began the Lord Chancellour to ~~mil~~
declare vnto him, how many ~~The~~
wayes the King had shewed his ~~Lo~~
loue and fauour towards him; ~~wil~~
how gladly he would haue had ~~acc~~
him continue in his Office; and ~~nes~~
how willing he would haue been ~~mu~~
to haue heaped more Benefits ~~nel~~
upon him; how he could aske ~~no~~
no worldly Honour, or Profit at ~~me~~
the Kings handes, that was li- ~~tha~~
kely to be denyed him; hoping ~~mo~~
by this declaration of the Kings ~~rin~~
fauours towards him, to induce ~~euc~~
him

vered him to fauour his Highnes busynes of the mariage. And lastly he requested his consent vnto our ap- no more, but what the Parla- yned ment, the Bishops, and Vniuersi- villed ties had already admitted, and hem confirmed.

To this *Syr Thomas More* mil- ly made answere, saying; There is no man living, my Lordes that would with better will, do the thing that might be acceptable to the Kings Highnes then my selfe, who needes must cōfesse his manifold goodnesse, and bountifull benefits, most benignly bestowed vpon me: Howbeit I verily thought, that I should neuer haue heard more of this matter, confide- ning, that from time to time, even from the first beginning heer-

heeroft I haue declare^d my minde
playnly & truly to his Majest^y,
which his Highnes euer seemed
to me, like a most gracious Prin-
ce, very well to accept, neuer
mynding^g as he said) to molest
me further therewith. Since
which tyme I could neuer find
further matter, that was able to
move me to any other change;
which if I could, there is not a
man in all the word that would
haue beeene more glad therof,
then my selfe.

Many thinges more, of like
sort, were heere vttered on both
sides: and in the end when they
saw they could not by any man-
ner of persuasion, remoue him
from his former determination;
then they began to touch him
more neerely, telling him, that
th:

mind the Kinges Maiesty had giuen
hem in commandement, if they
ould by no gentle meanes wyn
am, to charge him in his Name
neuer with great Ingratitude, & that
here was neuer found seruant
to his Soueraigne so vngrate-
full, nor subiect to his Prince so
able to myterous as he: for that by his
subtile & minister sleights he had
most vnnaturally vrged, & pro-
cured his Maiesty to set forth
Booke, *Of the Assertion of the
Sevene Sacraments*, and mayn-
aynance of the Popes Authori-
ty, and therby caused him, to
his great dishonour throughout
Christendome, to put a fword
into the Popes handes, to fight
agaynst himselfe.

Now when they had thus laid
forth these, and all other such
like

like terrors & threates which
they cold imagine agaynst him;
My Lordes, quoth he, there be
but Bugbeares, only to afright
Children, and not me. But to
answere that, wherewith you
do chiefly accuse me, I verily
believe that the Kings Highnes,
out of his Honour, will never
lay any such thing to my charge;
for there is no man in the
world, that can in that poynt,
say more in my excuse, then his
Maiesty himselfe who knoweth
right well, that I never was his
procurer, or Counsellour there-
vnto, but after it was finished by
his Highnes appoynment, and
consent of the makers therof, I
only was made vse of, as a settler
out, or a placer of some princi-
pall matters therein contayned;
wher-

wherein, when I found the Po-
pes Authority so highly aduan-
ced, and with so strong Argu-
ments mightily defended, I said
vnto his Grace: I must put your
Highnes in remembrance of one
thing, and that is this, The Pope
as your Highnes well knoweth
is a Prince as you are, & in lea-
gue with all other Christian
Princes, it may hereafter so fall
out, that your Highnes and he
may vary vpon some poynts of
league, whereupon may grow
breach of amity, yea and warrs
betwixt you; I thinke it ther-
fore best that, that place be a-
mended, & his Authority more
aduisedly touched. Nay (quoth
the King) that shall it not, for
we are so much bound to the
Sea of *Rome*, that we cannot do

to

to much honour thereunto The
did I further put his Maiesy in
remembrance of the Statute of
Præmunire, wherby a great part
of the Popes Prouisions, were
pared away. To that his Maiesy
answered, that whatsoeuer im-
pediment were to the contrary,
yet should his Authority be
set forth to the vttermoſt: for
(quoth he) we receiued frō that
Sea, this our Crowne Imperiall;
of which thing vntill his Gra-
ce told me with his own mouth
I never heard before. So that
I trust when his Maiesy shalbe
once truly informed of this, and
call to remembrance my plaine
and honest dealing therein, his
Grace will never speake of it
more, but rather quite cleare
me thereof himselfe. Thus en-
ded

ded the Assembly for that tyme,
& the Lords somewhat displeas-
antly departed.

Then tooke *Syr Thomas More*
his boat homwards to his house
at *Chelsey*, togeather with *M. Roper*, and by the way was very
pleasant. Which *M. Roper* see-
ing, was very glad therof, ho-
ping that he had gotten himselfe
discharged out of the Parliament
bill. When he was landed, and
come home to his house, they
went into his Garden, and there
walked togeather a good while.
Now *M. Roper* being very de-
sirous to know how he had sped,
said: I trust *Syr*, all his well, be-
cause you are so merry. It is so
indeed sonne *Roper* (quoth he) I
thanke our Lord God. Are you
then put out of the Parl
bill

bill *Syr* (quoth *M. Roper*) By my troth sonne *Roper* (quoth he) I neuer remembred it. Neuer remembred it, *Syr*, (quoth *M. Roper*) a matter that toucheth your selfe so neere, & all vs for your sake. Truly *Syr*, I am very sorry to heare it, for I verily hoped, when I saw you so merry, that all had ben well. Well, well Sonne *Roper* (quoth he) wilt thou know why I was so merry indeed? That would I gladly *Syr*, said *M. Roper*. In good Fayth, Sonne *Roper*, I rejoyced that I had giuen the Deuill a foule fall, and that with these Lordes, I had gone so farre, as without great shame I could not go backe agayne. At which wordes *M. Roper* waxed sad, and then they went both in.

Now

Now, vpon the report made by the Lord Chancellour, and the other Lords, to the King of their former discourse, and proceedings with *Syr Thomas More*, the King was so highly offended with him, that he playnly told them, he was fully purposed that the aforesaid Parliament-Bill shold proceed forth agaynst him. To whome the Lord Chancellour, and the rest of the Lordes said, they perceiued the vpper House so precisely bent to heare him speake for himselfe, & to make answere in his owne defence, that if he were not put out of the bill, it would without fayle be reiectet of all. But for all this, the King would needes haue his owne will therein, or else (quoth he) at the passing ther-

therof, I will my selfe be personally present. Then did the Lord Chancellour, and therewithal (seeing him so vehemently bent therein) vpon their knees, beseech his Grace in most humble wise, to forbear the same considering, that if he should in his owne pretence receiue an ouerthrow, it would not only encourage his Subiects euer after to contemne him; but also throughout all Christendome redound to his great dishonour. Adding thereunto, that they doubted not in tyme, to finde some other matter against him which might serue his Majestie purpose far better; for in this former busines, especially that of the Nunne, he is accompted (quoth they) so innocent and

clear

person cleare, that he is iudged of most
d the men, rather worthy of praise,
increas then reprehension. Whereupon
y bene at length, through their earnest
, be perswalsions the King was con-
hum tented to yield himselfe to their
same counsell.

On the Morrow after, M.
Cromwell meeting with M. Ro-
per in the Parliament house, wil-
ler at led him to tell his Father, that he
t also was put out of the Parliament
ome Bill; which newes M. Roper sent
nour home immediatly to his wife,
they willing her to make the same
s find knowne to her Father. Whereof
him when he heard: In good fayth
estie Megge (quoth he) *Quod differtur,*
n thi *non auferetur.* After this it hap-
y tha ned that the Duke of Norfolk &
nptee Syr Tho. More met togeather,
t and and falling into familiar talke,

the

the Duke said vnto him: By the
Matte *M. More*, it is perilous stri-
uing with Princes, & therefore
I would wish you somewhat to
incline to the Kings pleasure:
For by Gods body, *M. More*, *In-
dignatio Principis Mors est*. Is
that all my Lord (quoth he?)
Then in good Fayth, there is no
more difference betweene your
Grace and me, but that I may
dye to day, & you to morrow.

In this Parliament was a sta-
tute made for the Oath of Su-
premacy, and lawfulness of the
Kings Marriage; and within a
while after all the Priests of Ló-
don, and Westminster, & with
them *Syr Thomas More* only, &
no lay man besides, were cited
to appeare at *Lambeth*, before
the Bishop of Canterbury, the
Lord

Lord Chancellour, and Secretary Cromwell, Commissioners, appoynted there to tender the Oath vnto them.

Vpon this strange citation Syr Tho. More, as his accustomed manner euer was, alwayes before he entred into any busines of importance (as when he was first chosen of the Kings priuy Couell, when he was sent Embassador, appoynted Speaker of the Parliament-House, created Lord Chancellour, or when he tooke any weighty matter vpon him) prepared himselfe to Confession, heard Mass, and was houled, in the Morning, the selfe same day that he was to appear before the Lordes at Lambeth.

And as he vsed often at other tymes of his departure from his

E wife

wife and Children (whome he
tenterly loued) to haue them
bring him to his boate, & there
to kisse them all, and bid them
farewell ; at this tyme he would
not suffer any of them to fol-
low him further then his gate,
where with a heauy hart (as by
his countenance appeared) he
tooke his leaue of them, & with
M. Roper and foure seruants en-
tered into his boate, towardes
Lambeth : wherein sitting still
sadly for a while, at last he roun-
ded *M. Roper* in the eare, & said:
Sonne Roper, I thanke our Lord
God, the field is wōne. What he
ment by that, they did not well
vnderstand, yet loath to seeme
ignorant, *M. Roper* said ; Syr, I
am very glad thereof. And as
they after conjectured, it was for
that

that the loue he had to God, wrought in him so effectually, that it vtterly conquered all his carnall affections.

At his comming to *Lambeth*, he behaued himselfe so discreetly before the Commissioners, at the ministracion of the forlaid Oath, (as may be seene at large in certayne Letters of his sent to *Mrs Roper*, extant in a printed volume of his works) as they had little, or nothing to lay vnto his charge; yet durst they not, as it seemed, dismiss him, but cōmitted him to the custody of the Abbot of *Westminster* for 4. or 5. dayes; during with tyme the King consulted with his Counsell, what order were best to be taken with him. And albeit in the beginning, it

was resolued that he should vpon his oath be discharged; yet did **Queene Anne**, through her importunate clamours, so farre preuaile with the King against him, that contrary to the Commissioners expectation, he was committed to the Tower.

Now, as he was conducted thitherward by water, wearing (as he commonly did) a chayne of gold about his Necke, *M. Richard Cromwell*, who had the charge of conueying him to prison, aduised him to send home his Chayne to his wife, or to some of his Childré. Nay (quoth he) that will I not, for if I were taken in the field by myne enemy, I would he should fare somewhat the better for me. At his landing at the Tower gate, *M.*

Lieu-

Lieutenant was ready there to receiue him, where the Gentleman Porter demanded of him his vpper garmēt. Why heere it is (quoth he) & presently tooke off his Cap, and deliuered it vnto him, saying; I am very sorry *M. Porter*, that it is no better for you. Nay (quoth the Porter) I must haue your Gowne *Syr.* O I cry you mercy, good *M. Porter*, for now indeed I remember, that my Cappe is not my vpper garmēt, but only the thatch of my poore old Tenement.

So then was he by *M. Lieutenant* conueyed to his Lodging, where he called vnto him one *John Wood* his owne seruant, appoynted there to attend him, who could neither write nor reade, and swore him before

the Lieutenant, that if he should
heare or see at any time, his Mai-
ster write, or speake any man-
ner of thing agaynst the King,
Councell, or State of the land,
he should reueale it to the Lieu-
tenāt, that the Lieutenāt might
make the same knowne to the
Counsell.

After he had remayned in the
Tower about a moneth, his
daughter *Roper* (hauing greatly
desired to see her Father) made
earnest suite, & got leauue to vi-
sit him: at whose cōming, after
the saying of the seauen Psalmes
& Letanyes, which he was euer
accustomed to say with her) be-
fore they fell into discourse of
any other matter, among other
speaches he said vnto her: I be-
lieue *Megge*, that they who haue

put

put me heere, thinke they haue
done me a great displeasure: But
I assure thee on my fayth/ myne
owne good daughter) if it had
not ben for my wife & you my
Children, whome I accópt the
chiefe part of my charge , I
would not haue failed long ere
now, to haue inclosed my selfe
in a straiter roome then this.
But since I am come hither,
without myne owne desert, I
trust that God of his goodnes
will disburden me of my care,
and with his gracious help sup-
ply my want amongst you. And
I find no cause^ I thanke God
Megee) to reckon my selfe in
worse case heere , then in myne
owne house. For me thinkes in
this case, God maketh me euen
a wanton, setting me vpon his

Thus by his patient suffering, and cheerfull demeanour in all his tribulations and disasters, it plainly appeared, that nothing seemed painfull vnto him, but rather a profitable Exercise, for the good of his soule. Then whē he had questioned a while with his daughter about his wife Children, and houshold state in his absence, he asked her how Queene *Anne* did? Neuer better Father (quoth she.) Neuer better *Megge* (quoth he:) Alas, alas, it pittieth me to remember into what misery (poore Soule) She will shortly come.

After this, M. Lieutenant cōming one to day his chamber to visit him, & recouting the many courtesies, and benefits that he had

had heer tofore receiued at his
hands, and therfore how much
the more bound he was to en-
tertayne him friendly, & make
him good cheere, which the case
standing as it did, he could not
(as he would) do, without the
Kings high displeasure, & ther-
fore hoped he would accept of
his good will, and of such poore
cheere as he had. Maister Lieu-
tenant (quoth Syr Thomas More)
now verily I belieue, all you
haue said to be true, for which
I do most hartily thanke you.
And assure your selfe, M. Lieu-
tenant, when you see me mislike
my cheere, then thrust me out
of your doores, as a very vn-
thankefull Guest.

Now wheras the Oath above
mentioned made to confirme

F 5 the

the K. Supremacy & mariage, was cōprised in very few wordes, the Lord Chauncellour & Secretary *Cromwell* did of their owne heads, adde more wordes vnto it, to make it appeare of more force, and to sound better in the Kings eare: which Oath so amplified, they had caused to be ministred to *Syr Thomas More*, & to al others throught the Kingdome. The which *Syr Thomas More* perceiuing said one day to his daughter *Roper*: I may tell thee *Megge*, they that committed me hither for refusing the Oath, not agreeable to the Statute, are not by their own law able to iustify my imprisōment. And surely Daughter, it is great pitty, that any Christiā Prince should, by so flexible a

Coun-

Counsell ready to follow his affections, & by so weake a Clergy wanting grace to stand constantly to their Religion, with flattery be so grossely abused. But at length the Lord Chancellour, & M. Secretary espying their owne oversight in that behalfe, were glad afterwards to find a meanes that another Statute should be made for the confirmation of the sayd Oath so amplifyed, with theyr additions.

And wheras *Syr Thomas More* had made a conueyance for the disposing of his lades, reseruinge only vnto himselfe, an estate for terme of life, and after his descease some part therof to his wife & children, & other some to his Sonne *Ropers* wife, for a

F 6 ioynt-

The Life of
loynture, in consideration she
was an Inheritress in possession
of more then a hundred pounds
by the yeare: And likewise o-
ther some to *M. Roper* & his wife
in recompence of their mariage
money, with diuers remaynders
ouer and besides: All which cō-
ueyances and assurances, being
made and finished longe before
any matter (wherof he was at-
taynted) could be made an of-
fence: yet by Statute were they
now all clearely auoyded , and
all the lands that he had in such
sort assured vpon his wife and
children by the sayd cōueyāces
(contrary to order of the lawes)
taken from them , and forfay-
ted into the Kings handes , ex-
cept only that portion which he
had assured vpo *M. Roper* & his
wife

wife, by reasō that after the firt conueyāce, which was reserved to himselfe for the terme of his life, he had, vpon further con- sideration, within two dayes after , by another conucyance giuen the same immediatly to M. Roper and his wife , in pre- sent possession . So as the Sta- tute had only auoyded the first conueyance, forfaiting no more vnto the King thē had byn pa- sed therin ; and the second con- neyance passed to M. Roper and his wife (being dated two daies after) falling without the com- passe of the law , was adiudged good, and valide.

Syr Thomas More being now prisoner in the Tower, and one day looking forth at his win- dow, saw a Father of 'Syon (na- med

M. Rynolds) and three monkes
of the Charterhouse, going out
of the Tower to execution, for
that they had refused the Oath
of Supremacy: wherupō, he lan-
guishing it were with desyre to
beare them company, says vnto
his daughter *Roper* then pre-
sent: Looke *Megge*, doest thou
not see that these blessed Fathers
be now going as cherefully to
their deathes, as Bridegromes
to their marriages? By which
thou mayst see (myne owne
daugther) what a great dif-
ference there is between such as
haue spent all theyr dayes in a
religious, hird, and penitentiall
life, and such as haue, in this
world, like wretches (as thy
poore Father heere hath done)
consume all their tyme in plea-
sure

sure and eate. For which God, out of his gracious Goodnes wil no lōger suffer them to remayne hee. e in this vale of misery and iniquity, but will speedily translate them hee into the fruitio of his euerlasting Deity. Whereas thy silly Father, Megge, who like a mo^t wicked caytife hath passed the whole course of his miserable life most sinfully. God thinking him not worthy to attayne so soone thereunto, leaueth here him in the world, to be further tryed, plunged, & and turmoyled in misery.

Within a whyle after, M. Secretary came to him from the King, and pretending much friendship towardes him said, that the Kings Highnes was his good and gracious Lord, not myn-

mynding any matter thencefor-
ward, wherein he should haue
caule of scrupule to trouble his
conscience. As soone as M. Se-
cretary was departed to expresse
what comfort he received of his
speches, he tooke a coale (for
pen & inke then he had none)
& wrote these lynes following .

*Eye-fluttering Fortune, looke thou
n're so fayre,
Nor n're soe pleasantly, begin to
smyle,
As though thou wouldest my ruines
all repayre ;
During my life thou shalt not me
beguile.*

*Trust I shall, God, to enter in awhile
Thy Heauen of Heauens, sure and
uniforme.*

*Euer after a calme, locke I for a
storme.*

Now

Now Syr Thomas More, had continued almost six weekes in the Tower, before the Lady his wife could obteyne licence to visit him. Who at her first coming to him (like a good simple worldly woman) bluntly saluted him in this manner: What a good-care M. More, I meruaile that you, who haue ben alwayes hitherto taken for so wise a man, will now so play the foole to ly here in this close filthy prison, and be content to be thus shut vp amongst mice and rats, when you might be abroad at your liberty, with the fauour and good will both of the King and his Counsell, if you would but do as all the Bishops, & best learned of the Realme haue done? And since you haue at Chel-

sey

sey a right fayre house, your Library, your Bookes, your Garden, your Orchard, & all other necessaryes hādosome about you where also you might, in the cōpany of me your wife, Children and houshold be merry; I muse what a Gods Name you meane thus fōdly to tarry here?

After he had a while quietly heard her, with a cheerefull countenance he said vnto her. I pray thee good *Mrs Alice* tell me one thinge. What is that, quoth she? Is not this houſe as neere Heauen as myne owne? whereto after her accustomed homely fashon, not liking such speaches she answered: *Tille-valle, Tille-valle.* How say you *Mrs Alice*, is it not so(quoth he?) *Bone Deus, bone Deus, man,* will your

old Tricks never be left (quoth
she againe?) Well then M^r.
Alice, said he , if it be so, it is
very well; for I see no great cau-
se, why I should ioy much either
in my gay house, or in any thing
belonging thereunto, when as if
I should but liue seauen yeares
under ground , and then rise a-
gaine and come thither, I should
not fayle to find some dwelling
therein, that would bid me get
out of doores, & tell me it were
none of myne. What cause then
had I to loue such a house , as
would so soone forget his old
Maister? So as her perswasions
moued him nothing at all.

Not long after this there came
unto him , the Lord Chancel-
lour, th^e Dukes of Norfolke, and
Suffolke, with Maister Secretary,
and

and diuers of the priuy Counsell, at two seuerall tymes, who vsed all possible policy to procure him either precisely to confess the Supremacy, or directly to deny it. Whereunto (as appeareth by the booke of his Examinations) they could neuer bring him, or iustly taxe him for the contrary.

Shortly heereupon, one M. Rich (created afterwardes Lord Rich) that then was newly made the Kings Sollicitour, Syr Richard Southwell, & one M. Palmer seruant to the Secretary, were sent vnto Syr Thomas More vnder colour of fetching his Bookes away from him. And whilst Syr Richard Southwell, and M. Palmer were busy in packing them vp, M. Rich preten-

ound dīng frideyly discourse wiþ him,
who amogſt other things (of ſet pur-
poſe as it ſeemed) ſaid thus vñ-
to him: For as muſh as it is well
knowne *M. More*, that you are
a man both wiſe, and well lea-
rned, aſ well in the lawes of the
Realme, as otherwiſe, I pray
you therefore, let me in cour-
teſy, and good will be ſo bold to
put you this caſe. Admit there
were *Syr* (quoth he) an *A&C* of
Parliament, that all the King-
dome ſhould take me for King,
would not you then *M. More*,
take me for King? Yes marry,
(quoth *Syr Thomas More*) that
would I. Then I put caſe further
(quoth *M. Rich*: Admit there
were an *A&C* of Parliament, that
all the Realme ſhould take me
for Pope, would not you then

M.

M. More take me for Pope ?
For answere (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) to your first case , the Parliament may well (*M. Rich*) meddle with the state of temporal Princes ; but to make answere to your later case : Suppose the Parliament would make a law , that God should not be God : would you *M. Rich* , then say , that God were not God ? No *Syr* (quoth he) that would I not . No more (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) as *M. Rich* after reported of him , could the Parliament make the King supreme head of the Church . And so *M. Rich* , with the rest departed .

Now vpon the only report of this speach *Syr Thomas More* was indited of Treason , vpon the Statute , whereby it was made

Treason

treason to deny the King to be
supreme head of the Church:
into which Inditement, were
put these heynous words, *Ma-
liciously, Traitorously, and Diaboli-
cally*. Whereupon presently after
he was brought frō the Tower
to answe the Inditement at
the Kings Bench barre; & being
there arraigned before the Iud-
ges, he openly told thē; That he
could be content to haue abid-
den the rigour of the law by
this their inditement, but then
he should therby be driuen to
confesse falsely of himselfe the
matter indeed, which was the
denyall of the Kings Suprema-
cy, and which he protested was
most vntreue. Wherefore he plea-
ded therto not guilty, and so re-
serued vnto himselfe aduantage.

The Life of
to be taken of the body of the
matter, after verdict, to auoyd
that Inditement. And moreouer
he added; That if these only od-
ious tearmes *Maliciously*, *Tray-*
terously, & *Diabolically* were left
out of the Inditement, he saw
nothing therin, wherwith iu-
stly to charge him.

Then for proofe alleaged vnto the Iury, that *Syr Thomas More* was guilty of this Treason, *M. Rich* was called forth, to giue evidence vpon his Oath, as he did against him. To whome, ha-
ving thus sworne, *Syr Thomas More* spake in this wise: If this Oath of yours be true *M. Rich*, then I pray God, that I may ne-
uer see him in the face in his Kingdome; which I would not say, were it otherwise, to gayne
the

the whole world. Then reeoun-
ted he to the Court, the whole
discourse, of all their Confer-
ence, and putting of Cases in
the Tower, according to the
Truth. And turning to *M. Rich*
he said: In good fayth *M. Rich*, I
am more sory for your Periury
then for myne owne perill. And
besides, you shall vnderstand,
that neither I, nor any man else
to my knowledge, euer tooke
you to be a man of such credit,
as to communicate vnto you
any matter of importance; and
(you well know) I haue ben ac-
quainted with you no small
while, and haue knowne you, &
your Conuerstation from your
very youth; for we dwelled long
together in one Parish, where,
as your selfe can tell best, (I am
sory you compell me so to say.)

you were esteemed very light of your tongue, a great Dicer, and of no commendable Fame, or Name: Can it therefore seeme likely to your Lordships, that I would in so weighty a matter, so vnaudisedly ouershoote my selfe, as to trust *M. Rich*(a man reputed alwayes by me, and others for one of litle truth, as your Lordships haue heard, so farre, aboue my Soueraigne the King, or aboue any of his noble Counsellours, that I would vtter vnto him the secrets of my Conscience, touching the Kings Supremacy? The speciall poynt and only marke so long aymed at in all my actions? The thing which I neuer did, or euer wold offer to the Kings Maiesty him selfe, or to any of his Honourable Counsell, as it is not vnu-
knowne

knowne vnto your Honours,
who sundry tymes haue byn
sent vnto me, into the Tower
from his Highnes owne person,
for no other purpose? Can this
in your Iudgments, my Lords,
seeme to stand with truth, in
any likelyhood? And yet if I had
so laid indeed (my Lordes) as
M. Rich hath falsly sworne, since
it was spoken, as he sayth, in fa-
miliar talke, affirming nothing,
and only in putting of cases,
without other displeasant cir-
cumstances, it cannot iustly be
taken to be spoken Maliciously,
and where there is no Malice,
there can be no Offence.

And besides this (my Lordes,) I can never thinke, that
so many worthy Bishops, so many
honourable Personages, and
so many other worshipfull, wise
- viom

The Life of
and well learned men, as were
assembled at the making of that
Law in the Parliament, euer
meant to haue any man puni-
shed by death, in whome there
could be found no *Malice*: for
if *Malice* be taken for *Sinne* ge-
nerally, then is there no man
that can excuse himselfe therof:
*Si Dixerimus, quod peccatum non
habemus &c.* And as for the ter-
me *Maliciously*, it is not in this
Statute to be taken for *Ma-
teriall*; as in like case you know
the terme *Forcible*, is meant
in *Forcible Entry*; by which
Statute if a man enter *patiently*,
and put not his Aduersary out
forcibly, it is no offence: but
if he put him out *forcibly*, by
that Statute it is an Offence,
and so shalbe punished by this
Terme *forcible*.

Moreouer (my Lords) the manifold goodnes of the Kings Highnes himselfe, who hath ben so many wayes my singular good Lord, & gracious souerayne, who hath alwaies so deerly affected me, and cuen at my first coming ynto his Royal seruice, aduaced me to the dignitie of his Honourable priuy Counsell, vouchsasing to admit me afterward to Offices of great credit and Honour, and lastly to exalte me to that weighty roome of his Maiestyes high Chauncellour, (the like whereof he never did to any temporal man his subiect before) next to his owne Royal person the highest Office in this noble kingdome, so farte aboue my merit or desert, and this for the space of aboue twenty years togeather, shewing his continuall

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all fauour towards me, vntill at
myne owne poore suite / giuing
me his gracious licence to be-
stow the little residue of my life,
in the seruice of God, for the
vgood of my soule / it pleased his
Highnes of his especiall good-
nes, to discharge and disburden
metheroft: now all this his high-
nes fauour (I say) thus boutifully
extended, & so long continued
towardes me considered, as it
bought, in my mind is sufficient
to couince this slanderous sur-
mise of M. Rich, so wrongfully
sworne agaynst me.

When Syr Thomas More had
thus spoken, M. Rich seeing him-
selfe so disproued, and his credit
so foully disgraced, caused Syr
Richard Southwell, & M. Palmer
& who were also present at the
time of their Conference in his

Chamber) to be sworne, what wordes had passed betwixt thē. Whereupon *M. Palmer* vpon his deposition said; That he was so busyl, in putting vp *Syr Thomas Mores* Bookes into a lache, that he tooke no heed of their speeches. *Syr Richard Southwell* likewise vpon his deposition said; That because he was only apoynted to looke vnto the conveyāce of his Bookes, he gaue no great eare vnto what they sayd.

After this, many other reasons & arguments were alleadged by *Syr Thomas More*, in defence of his owne Innocency, & to the discredit of *M. Rich*, in the forsaide point; Notwithstanding all which, the Iury found him guilty, and immediatly vpon their verdict, the Lord Chauncellour (for that businesse there

chiefe commissioner) beginning to proceed to Judgment against him, *Syr Tho. More* laid vnto him.

— My Lord, when I my selfe was towardes the Law, the maner in such cases was, to aske the Prisoner before sentence of Condemnatiō, why Iudgmēt should not be giue agaynst him? Wherupon the Lord Chācellour stayng the sentence (wherein he had partly begun to proceed) demanded of him, What he was able to say for himselfe, to the contrary? Then *Syr Tho. More*, in this sort, most humbly made answere.

For asmuch as, my Lordes, (quoth he) this Judgment is grounded vpon an Act of Parliament directly repugnat to the lawes of God & his holy Church the supreme gouernement of which

which, or any part thereof, no
temporall Prince may presume
by any temporall law, to take
vpon him, as rightfully belon-
ging to the Sea of *Rome*; a spirit-
uall preheminence conferred
and granted, by the mouth of
our Sauiour himselfe, being per-
sonally present vpon the Earth,
only vnto S. Peter the Apostle,
and his lawfull Successors, Bi-
shops of the same Sea, by special
prerogatiue; It is not therefore
sufficient inough for one Chri-
stian Catholike man to charge
and conuince another Christian
Catholike man, & say, that this
Realme of *England*, being but a
member, & a small part only of
the Church of Christ, hath
power and authority to make a
particular law, disagreeable to
the generall law of Christ's U-
niversal

uerall Catholique Church; no more then the City of London, being but one poore member in respect of the whole Kingdome, might make a law agayst an Act of Parliament, to bind the whole Realme. And further he shewed, that it was contrary both to the ancient Lawes, & Statutes of our owne Realme, not the repealed, as they might well see in *Magna Carta*; *Quod Ecclesia libera sit, & habeat omnia iura integra, & libertates suas illas*; and contrary likewise to that sacred Oath, which the Kings Highnes himselfe, and euery other Christian Prince of this realme with great Solemnyt, hath ever taken at their Coronation. Alleaging moreover, that no more might this Realme of England refuse obedience to the See of

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Rome,

Rome, then the child might refuse Obedience to his naturall Father: for as S. Paul sayth of the *Corinthians*, *I haue regenerated you my Children in Christ*; so might holy S. *Gregory Pope of Rome*, of whome (by S. *Augustine* his messenger) we Englishmen first receiued the Christian fayth, truly say, *You are my Children, because I haue giuen you euerlasting saluation* (a farre, and better, & more noble Inheritance, then any carnall Father can leaue to his Children) *& by regeneration made you my Children in Christ.*

To this speach of *Syr Thomas More* the Lord Chancellor answered; That seeing all the Bishops, Vniuersities, & best learned of the Realme, had to this, Act of Parliament agreed, it was very greatly to be admired,

G 6 that

that he alone, agaynst them all, would so stify sticke, and argue so vehemently against it.

To this *Syr Thomas More* againe replyed, saying: If the number of Bishops, and Vniuersities be so materiall, as your Lordship seemeth to take it; then I see little cause, my Lord, why that thing should make any change at all in my Cōscience. For I nothing doubt (though not in this Realme, yet in Christendome round about, the number of learned men and Bishops to be farre greater, who will defend and maintayne the contrary; and therefore am I not bounden to conforme my cōscience to the Councell of one Kingdome, against the generall Cōcell of Christendome.

Now, when *Syr Thomas More* for

for the auoyding of the Indite-
ment had taken as many exce-
ptions as he thought fit, the
Lord Chancellour loath to haue
the burden of that Iudgment
wholy to depend vpon himsel-
fe there openly asked the aduise
of the Lord *Fitz-James*, then
Lord chiefe Iustice of the Kings
Bench and ioyned in commis-
sion with him (whether this In-
diteinent were sufficient or no.
Who, like a discreet man, an-
swered: My Lordes (quoth he)
by *S. Julian* (that was euer his
oath) I must needs cōfesse, that
if the A^tt of Parliament be not
vnlawfull, then is not the Indi-
tement in my conscience insuf-
ficient. Whereupon the Lord
Chancellour said to the rest of
the Commissioners; Lo^t my
Lordes, you all heare what my

Lord

Lord chiefe Justice sayth, & so
immediatly he gaue judgment.
Which being done the commis-
soners, yet further offered him
curteously, all fauourable audi-
ence, if he would speake: who
answereſ; I haue no more to say
my Lords, but that, like as the
Blessed Apostle S. Paul (as we
read in the Acts of the Apo-
stles) was present, and conſen-
ted to the death of S. Stephen, &
kept their clothes that ſtoned
him to death, and are now both
holy Saintes in heauen; ſo I ve-
rily truſt, and shall right hartily
pray, that though your Lord-
ſhips haue now heere in earth
byn judges to my Condemna-
tion, yet may we hereaſter
meete all togeather in euerla-
ſting glory.

After his condemnation he
depar-

departed from the Barre towardeſ the Tower agayne, led by Syr William Kingston (a tall ſtrong and comely knight) Conſtable of the Tower, & his very deere friend, who whē he had brought him a part of the way towardeſ the Tower, with a heauy heart, the teares running downe his cheekeſ, bad him farewell. The which Syr Thomas More ſeeing, comforted him with as good words as he could ſaying: Good M. Kingſton, trouble not your ſelfe, but be of good cheere, for I will pray for you, and my good Lady your wife that we may meeete togeather in Heauē, where we thalbe merry for euer and euer. And a little after Syr William Kingſtone meeting with M. Roper ſaid: In good fayth M. Roper, I was aſhamed of my ſelfe
that

that at my departure from your Father, I found my selfe so feeble, and he so strong, that he was fayne to cōfort me, who shoule rather haue comforted him.

As *Syr Th. More* came neere vnto the Tower, his Daughter *Roper* desirous to see her Father once more before his death, and to receave his last blessing, gaue attendance about the Tower-wharfe, where he was to passe, & so soone as she saw him, hastening vnto him, without respect or care of herselfe, pressed in among the throng of the Guard, that with halbards went round about him, and there openly in the sight of all asking him blessing on her knees imbrac't him, tooke him about the necke, and kissed him. Who with a merry countenance, nothing at all

deighted, gaue her his Fatherly blessing, with many Godly wordes of comfort, & the departed.

So remayned he in the Tower more then eight dayes after his condemnation, from whence, the day before he suffered, he sent his shirt of hayre (not willing to haue it seene) to his said Daughter *Roper*, and a Letter written with a cole (printed in the aforesaid booke of his workes) expressing playnly the fervent desyre he had to suffer on the Morrow, in these wordes following: I comber you, good *Margaret* very much, but I wold be sorry if it should be any longer, then to Morrow; for to Morrow is *S. Thomas* of Canterbury his Eue, & the Octauie of *S. Peter*, & therfore to Morrow long I to go to God; it were
a day

The Life of
a day very meeete, and conuenient for me. I neuer liked your manner better towardes me then when you last imbraced me, and when daughterly loue, and deare charity, haue no leasure to looke towards worldly courtesy.

Vpon the next Morrow, according as he wished, earely in the morning there came unto him *Syr Thomas Pope*, his singular good friend, with a message from the King and Counsell, that he must before nine of the clocke, the same morning, suffer death, and that he should forthwith prepare himself thereto. *M. Pope* (quoth he) for your good tydings, I most hartily thanke you. I haue alwayes been much bound to the Kings highnes, for the many benefits, and ho-

honours that he hath still from
tyme to tyme most bountifully
heaped vpon me; especially that
it hath pleased his Maiesty, to
put me here in this place, where
I haue had conuenient tyme and
leasure to remember my last
End; and now most of all am I
bound vnto his Grace, that I
shall be so shortly rid out of the
miseries of this wretched life, &
therfore will I not fayle to pray
earnestly for his Grace, both
heere & in the other world also.

The Kings pleasure is fur-
ther(quoth *Syr Thomas Pope*)that
at your execution you shall not
vse many words. *M. Pope*(quoth
he) you do well to giue me war-
ning of the Kings pleasure, for
otherwise I might haue of-
fended his Maiesty agaynst my
will. I had indeed purposed at
that

that tymg, to haue spoken som-
what, but of no matter of offence
to his Grace; neuertheles what-
soeuer I intended, I am ready to
conforme my selfe obediently
to his commandement. And
beseech you, good M. Pope, be a
means vnto his Maiesty that my
daughter *Margaret* may be at my
Buriall. The King is contented
already (quoth *Syr Thomas Pope*)
that your wife, children, and o-
ther of your Friends haue liber-
ty to be present therat. O how
much am I bound vnto his gra-
ce (quoth *Syr Thomas More*) that
vouchsafeth to haue so gracious
a consideration of my poore Bu-
riall. Whereupon *Syr Tho. Pope* ta-
king his leaue cold not forbear
weeping: which *Syr Tho. More*
percyuing, comforted him in
this wise: Quiet your selfe good

M.

M. Pope, and be not discomfor-
ted, for I trust we shall one day
see ech other in heauē, where we
shalbe sure to liue, and loue to-
gether in ioyfull blisse eternally.

Upon Syr Thomas Popes depar-
ture, he changed himselfe into
his best apparel, as one that had
bin inuited to some solēne feast,
which M. Lieutenant being, adui-
sed him to put it off, saying, that
he that was to haue it, was but a
lauell. What M. Lieutenant quoth
he shall I accompt him a lauell,
that shall do me this day so sin-
guler a benefit? Nay I assure you
were it cloth of Gold, I would
accompt it very well bestowed
upon him, as S. Cyprian did, who
gaue to his Executioner, thirty
peeces of Gold. Yet through the
Lieutenants persuasions he alte-
red his Apparell, and after the

Exam-

Exáple of the forsayd holy Mar-
tyr, he gaue that little money he
had left, to his Executioner,
which was one Angell of Gold.

Then was he by M. Lieueteñat
broght out of the Tower, & frō
thence led towards the place of
Execution, vpon the Tower-
hil, where going vp the Scaffold
which was weake, & ready to
fall, he said smilingly to M. Lieu-
tenat: I pray you, good M. Lieu-
tenat see me safe vp, & for my co-
ming downe let me shift for my
selfe. Then desired he all the peo-
ple about him to pray for him, &
to beare witnesse, that he should
now there suffer death in, & for
the fayth of the Holy Catholi-
que Church. Which done he
kneeled downe, and after his
prayers sayd he turned to the
Executioner, & with a chereful

coun-

ar- countenance spake thus merrily
he vnto him: Plucke vp thy spirits
er, man, and be not afryd to do
d. thine Office: my necke is som-
nat what short, therefore take heed;
rō thou strikest not awry, for sa-
of uing of thyne honesty: but if
er. thou doest, vpon my word I wil
old not heerafter cast it in thy teeth.
to So, at one stroke of the Execu-
te- tioner, passed *Syr Thomas More*
o- out of this world, to God, vpon
& the same day, which himselfe
ld had most desired. 6. Iulij. 1535.

Soone after his death, intelli-
gēce therof came vnto the Em-
perour *Charles* the fifth, where-
vpon he sent for *Syr Thomas More*, then Embassadour there, & said vnto him: My Lord Embas-
sadour, we vnderstand, that the
King your Maister hath put his
faythfull seruant, & graue Cou-
sel-

The Life of
Emperour to death, Syr Thomas
Eliot. Whercunto Syr Thomas Eliot
answering, that he had heard
nothing thereof. Well quoth
the Emperour; it is too true, &
this will I say, that if I had byn
Master of such a Servant (of
whose counsailes, and perfor-
mance in State matters my selfe
have had these many yeares no
small experience) I would ra-
ther haue lost the best City of
my dominions, then such a wort-
thy Counsellour. Which speach
of the Emperour was afterward
related by Syr Thomas Eliot vnto
M. William Roper, & his wife, be-
ing with him at supper, in the
presence of one M. Clement, M.
Heywood, and their wiues.

See also book of history of, 1600
ending **D** **A** **M** **D** **S** **1600**
and ending **M** **1600**